

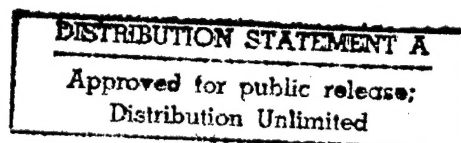
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28 December 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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28 December 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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WARSAW PACT NAVAL ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPON SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 10, Oct 84 pp 564-565

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "SA-N-4--the Standard Shipboard Weapon System for Close Range Air Defense"]

[Text] When after the end of the 1960s three new Soviet naval vessels<sup>1</sup> appeared on the scene, they were noted to have certain features which at that time were believed to be part of a missile weapon system which had not yet been installed. What was noticed was a circular platform, extending slightly above deck level, with a seam running through its center, for which there did not seem to be a good explanation. The fact that this item had to be considered part of a missile weapon system became manifest by a function-relevant characteristic: behind the platform, which was presumed to await something to be placed upon it, was a semicircular structure which upon closer inspection turned out to be a blast deflector which has become conventional for missile launch installations. While the idea that this was a silo-type missile weapon system surfaced early on, there was no certainty on this until 1971/72, when for the first time an exposed launcher was observed aboard a KRIVAK-I-class guided-missile frigate.

NATO designated the new weapon system with the code "SA-N-4." This particular item was not a navy version of a previously developed weapon system which was already in use by other components of the armed forces; rather, the exact opposite appeared to be the case. Based on the SA-N-4 system was the ground forces' SA-8 mobile all-weather weapon system for defense against low-flying aircraft, using the same missile (NATO designation: GECKO). This land version was shown publicly for the first time in the November Parade of 1975 in Moscow's Red Square.<sup>2</sup>

The GECKO missile is about 3.20 meters long and has a cell diameter of about 0.20 meters. The wingspan of its stub wings is 0.64 meters. Launch weight is estimated at about 130 kg. It is propelled by a solid fuel rocket engine, probably equipped with an integrated solid fuel booster. Apart from the four wing stubs at the end of the cell which

serve as lift surfaces, an additional four fins are located in front to serve as stabilizing surfaces. The missile flies at Mach 2 and has a combat range of between 2000 and 12,000 meters. The most effective range lies between about 30 [as published] and 10,000 meters. The warhead is said to carry a 20 kg conventional load.

The SA-N-4 unit, intended for surface vessels, consists of a cylindrical silo measuring about 5 meters in height and having a diameter of 4.40 meters. Along the inside wall there appears to be a round missile rack holding a total of 20 GECKOs. In the center of the silo there is a two-armed launch device whose base sits on a lift cylinder which is probably operated hydraulically and which telescopes, thus making upward and downward movement possible. On top of the base, which is rigidly attached to the lift cylinder sits the upper part, which can be rotated 360 degrees and which has the two starter arms which can be rotated upwards to a 90 degree angle. On top the silo ends with a ring along which the two-piece cover must be moved when the silo is opened to let the launch device emerge. As soon as it is fully out of the silo, the two cover halves are again moved into the center so as to close off the silo during missile launch, since the device appears to be ready for firing only after this has been done. Once the two missiles have been launched (this is done as a salvo with only a negligible interval) the cover must be opened and the launch device brought down. After it has reached its bottom position, the next two GECKOs are advanced far enough out of the surrounding missile racks that they end up below the fully vertical launching arms (this position is mandatory for the up- and down movement of the launch device) and can be latched in place. Thereafter the launch device travels upward once more and after closure of the silo cover is ready to fire once again.

GECKO missile guidance is accomplished via radio commands to a POP GROUP weapon guidance device which is a part of every SA-N-4 system. It is possible that during the final flight phase a radar or TV navigation device is activated.

On large vessels the SA-N-4 weapon system serves as a secondary air defense system; on medium-size and smaller ships, however, it is the main component of their shipboard air defense. The following classes of ships are equipped with SA-N-4 weapon systems: [See table next page]

This type of stowage of a missile weapon system was used for the first time. Among its advantages are protection against any type of weather and thus the improved conditions for periodic and effective maintenance; protection against battle damage (e.g., shrapnel damage); and the relatively quick and simple replacement capability of the entire system for a repaired one. This appears to have been the start of a development which led to below-deck missile launch systems, such as today's SS-N-19 ship-to-ship missile and the SA-N-6 ship-to-air missile (both of which were installed for the first time aboard the nuclear-propelled missile cruiser

NATO Type Designator	Klassen bezeich- nung (1)	(3)		
		Anzahl (2) der Schiffe (4)	Anzahl der Start- geräte (5)	Flug körper
CVSGM	KIEV	3*)	2 x 2	40
CGN	KIROV	2	2 x 2	40
CG	KARA	8	2 x 2	40
CG	SLAVA	1	2 x 2	40
CLCP	SVERDLOV-MOD	2	1 x 2	20
FFGSP	KRIVAK-I/II	32	2 x 2	40
FFP	KONI **)	1	1 x 2	20
FFLP	GRISHA-III	34(?)	1 x 2	20
FFLP	GRISHA-I	16	1 x 2	20
PGGSP	NANUCHKA-I	16	1 x 2	20
PGGSP	NANUCHKA-II	5	2 x 2	20
PHGSP	SARANCHA	1	1 x 2	20
LSD	ROGOV	2	1 x 2	20
AORP	BEREZINA	1	1 x 2	20
Gesamt: (6)		121	124 x 2	2800

Table 1. Ships Equipped with SA-N-4

Key:

- |                      |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Class Designation | 4. Launch Devices |
| 2. Number of Ships   | 5. Missiles       |
| 3. Number of ...     | 6. Total          |

KIROV), and to a new system which does not yet have a NATO designation and which is often called the "SA-N-8" in the unofficial trade literature. The latter appears to be an improved SA-N-4. It does not appear to be operationally ready at present and has not been installed for that reason; however, it is intended for the UDALOY class of missile destroyers and also for the NOVOROSSIYSK, the third anti-submarine aircraft carrier of the KIEV class, as well as for the FRUNZE.<sup>3</sup> The initial impression that it was merely a follow-on version of the SA-N-4 system cannot be confirmed if for no other reason that newer ships, such as the FRUNZE, KIROV's sister ship, are equipped with the SA-N-4. [See Fig. 4 next page]

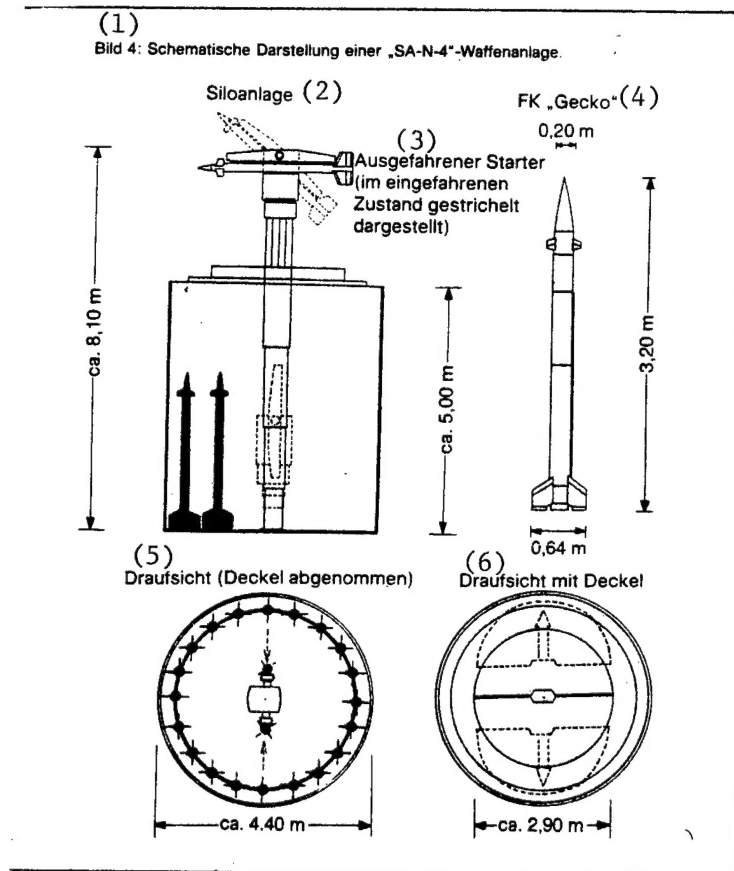
#### FOOTNOTES [in text]

1. They were: first, the NANUCHKA (I) class missile corvettes (operational since 1969); thereafter, the KRIVAK (I) class ships which were originally designated missile destroyers but which after 1977/78 were downgraded to missile frigates; and the GRISHA-I-class corvettes (operational since 1970).
2. See also SOLDAT UND TECHNIK issue 1/76, p 5.

\*) Only two of the three KIEV-class units are equipped with SA-N-4.

\*\*) In addition, two KONI-class FFPs of the GDR Navy.

3. In all probability, this modification will apply also to the KHARKOV, the fourth ship of the KIEV class, which is still under construction.



Key:

1. Fig. 4. Schematic Drawing of an SA-N-4 Installation
2. Silo System
3. Raised Launcher (lowered position shown by dotted lines)
4. GECKO Missile
5. View from above (cover removed)
6. View from above (cover closed)

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CSO: 2300/118

ORGANIZATION, FUNCTION OF PEOPLE'S CONTROL COMMISSIONS DESCRIBED

Sofia DURZHAVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 2 Nov 84 pp 1024-1029

[Instruction No 1 of the Committee for State and People's Control on the Organizing and Activities of the People's Control Commissions and Groups]

[Text] Section I: General Provisions

Article 1. (1) The people's control commissions and groups are elected public bodies involved in supervising the labor collectives and the population (public) in residential districts and population points.

(2) The people's control commissions and groups are elected according to Article 14, Paragraph 1 of the Law Governing State and People's Control (ZDNK) directly at general or delegate assemblies (conferences) of the labor collectives and the public for a period of 2 years and include their prominent representatives in the commission membership.

(3) The people's control commissions and groups exercise control over compliance and conformance with economic, production, sociocultural and other activities at the state, cooperative and economic bodies and organizations as well as the specialized bodies of the people's councils.

(4) The people's control commissions and groups which have been organized along production lines exercise control directly at the installations where they have been elected while commissions set up on the territorial principle work in the corresponding residential districts and population points.

Article 2. (1) The people's control commissions and groups work under the direct leadership of the appropriate party bodies and in close relation to the social organizations and administrative leadership settle questions which arise in the exercising of their control functions.

(2) The people's control commissions and groups are a mass public support and basis for a unified system of state and people's control bodies.

Article 3. (1) The people's control commissions (KNK) are organized in accord with the party structure of production or along territorial lines.

(2) The KNK are organized in all ministries and other central departments, in institutions, the bodies of the people's councils, health and educational institutions, scientific research institutes, economic organizations and their divisions, as well as in villages and city districts.

(3) The size of the people's control commissions and groups is determined by the assembly (conference) depending upon the scope of work and the size of the enterprise, institution, organization and population point.

Article 4. (1) The people's control groups can be organized, if the KNK deem it so, in small component structural elements of the state and economic organizations where there are party groups.

(2) Temporary people's control groups can be organized for carrying out certain control activities during major campaigns under the KNK.

(3) The permanent and temporary people's control groups are a part of the KNK and are managed directly by them. The same status is also possessed by the production control groups in agriculture and industry.

Article 5. In the larger KNK, that is, those over 15 members, sections are organized for the basic control problems according to the activities of the enterprise, organization, institution and population point.

Article 6. At economic combines and in other large economic organizations, plants, institutions and population points it is possible to elect general-combine, general-plant, general-settlement and, respectively, general-institution and other KNK. These exercise control over questions of importance for an entire economic combine, settlement, organization or institution and they direct, focus, assist and coordinate the organizing and activities of the people's control commissions and groups set up in the structural elements.

Article 7. (1) The leading bodies of the KNK are:

1. The general assembly (meeting) of the commission which is convened when necessary but at least once every 3 months. The assembly reviews the findings, it adopts proposals on the control activities carried out and discusses other, more important questions;

2. The current leadership bureau which has a membership of 3-7 persons is elected by the general assembly (session) of the commissions the size of which exceeds 15 persons.

(2) The current leadership bureaus include the chairman and deputy chairmen of the KNK responsible for the sections and the people's controllers.

(3) The current leadership bureaus set up an organization for carrying out the tasks, they approve programs (questionnaires) for the checks, they organize the instructing of the people's controllers and clarify proposals for the party and administrative-economic leadership.

Article 8. (1) In large economic organizations the activities of which are carried out in several plant divisions or on the territory of several okrugs, it is possible to establish councils of KNK chairmen. These are set up at the recommendation of the okrug commission for state and people's control (OKDNK). When it is a question of several okrugs, the councils can be set up by a decision of the Committee for State and People's Control (KDNK).

(2) The councils of KNK chairmen have the task of coordinating the work of the commissions and pooling their efforts primarily to fulfill the counterplans, to increase labor productivity and product quality and to rationally utilize material and labor resources and financial assets.

(3) The councils of KNK chairmen work according to annual and 2-year plans. These include the most important tasks which are common to the entire economic organization or subsector, trust or combine such as: the type of control measures, the involved projects to be controlled and the times for carrying out these measures.

Article 9. (1) The state and people's control committees exercise organizational and procedural leadership and provide systematic help to the KNK in carrying out their control functions. They provide instruction for the people's controllers in the area of studying, generalizing and broadly popularizing advanced experience in control work. They assist them in carrying out their proposals, in providing broad publicity and increasing the effectiveness of people's control as well as strengthening its preventive role and indoctrinational effect.

(2) The state and people's control committees provide conditions for the normal work of the KNK, for furthering their initiative, activity and creativity and for employing the rights of the people's controllers; they block attempts to impede their work or persecute them because of their control activities.

## Section 2: General Areas of Control Activities for the People's Control Commissions and Groups

Article 10. (1) The people's control commissions and groups direct their control activities chiefly to the basic problems and tasks of the labor collectives, the economic organizations, combines, enterprises, institutions and the population in the population points, such as:

1. The intensification of production and the carrying out of the counterplans for all the qualitative and physical indicators by the introduction of science and technical progress, the mass study and dissemination of Bulgarian and foreign advanced experience, most fully utilizing the means of labor, the subjects of labor and live labor and on this basis to decisively increase labor productivity and reduce costs per unit of product;

X 2. The applying of the economic approach and its mechanism in all spheres and areas of social life by introducing cost accounting and consistent covering of costs not only in economic and social activities as a whole but also in each division, shop and brigade;

3. Full automation and mechanization of production and the reduction of manual labor by introducing the elaborated plans for automation, biologization, computerization, the use of electronic computer and microprocessor equipment in controlling production processes and the organizing of automated sections, lines and systems of highly productive machines;
4. The economic and efficient use of raw products, materials, fuel and energy by converting to complete and comprehensive use on the basis of waste-free and low-waste production methods, reducing the energy and material intensiveness of the product, introducing progressive standards for the consumption of raw products, materials, energy and fuel, collecting and most fully utilizing production wastes and reducing waste in production and increasing labor productivity;
5. Improving the quality of products and services for the population and modernizing the produced goods and articles by improving the designing of the articles and goods, observing standards in all phases of the production process, packaging, transporting and sale of the product;
6. Increasing the initiative, creativity and responsibility of the administrative, economic and executor personnel. The criterion for evaluating everything should be the quality and efficiency of labor and the contribution which is made for highly efficient, highly organized and high-quality production;
7. The carrying out of the party's social policy by increasing the economic and social effectiveness of the social funds for encouraging the participation of people in labor, strengthening the influence and responsibility of the labor collectives in carrying out sociocultural measures, a decisive improvement in the level of services for the public in the sphere of trade and services, transport, in health and cultural institutions; the prompt response to proposals, alerts, complaints and petitions from the citizens, the eliminating of bureaucracy and formalism in administrative services for the public;
8. The precise observance of legal order. The protecting of socialist property from appropriation and embezzlement by the strengthening of state discipline in all spheres and activities. The eliminating of violations, weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the economic organizations.

(2) The designated tasks of the people's control commissions and groups are enumerated approximately and are aimed at helping in the planning and exercising of control activities. They do not limit the creative opportunities and the initiative of the commissions in determining specific control questions. For each period the tasks are supplemented, intensified or altered in accord with the given stage of the nation's socioeconomic development and the problems confronting the labor collectives and the public (population) in the settlements and districts.

### Section III: Planning the Activities of the People's Control Commissions

Article 11. (1) The KNK exercise their control and organizational activities on a systematic and planned basis. For this purpose they adopt 6-month or annual plans in accord with planning practices in the corresponding party organization.

(2) The people's control groups do not draw up complete plans for their activities but merely set out control tasks.

(3) The plan of a KNK encompasses the control activities, that is, the subjects (problems) of control, the objects, the form of control, the participants, the dates and persons responsible for its organization and execution and ultimately for implementing the control measure. It also includes organizational measures such as the sessions of the bureau and the meetings of the commissions, the activities (tasks) in the area of publicity and the exchange of positive experience, the instructing and training of the people's controllers and the setting and reporting on permanent and temporary assignments for the individual commission members.

(4) The work plan of the KNK is approved by the general assembly (session) of the commission or at a meeting of the labor collective or public, after having been approved by the corresponding party committee or party bureau of the primary party organization.

(5) The KNK plans in the ministries, central departments, economic organizations, combines and agroindustrial complexes are coordinated with the plans of the intradepartmental control bodies and those of the rural and district commissions with the Fatherland Front committees.

Article 12. The control problems (subjects) included in the KNK plan are selected from the following sources:

1. Party and government documents;
2. The plans for socioeconomic development and the counterplans and engineering designs of the corresponding organizations and institutions;
3. Those arising in the discussions of the meetings of the labor collectives and the public in the districts and population points;
4. Upon the proposal (recommendation) of the party bodies and organizations;
5. Those arising in the discussion of the meetings of public organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Komsomol and so forth;
6. Upon the proposals of the corresponding administrative and economic management;
7. From critical materials printed in the central and local press as well as broadcasts of radio, television and the local loudspeaker system;
8. Upon the recommendations (proposals) of the state and people's control committees;
9. From individual warnings, proposals and complaints of the workers.

Article 13. (1) In conformity with the nature (complexity, importance and so forth) of the problems and the monitored objects and the aim of the control measure and its capabilities, the KNK selects and applies the most suitable control form for this.

(2) The following control forms can be employed:

1. A check including special-subject or comprehensive when it is a question of exercising control over the state of individual problems or several problems from one project at one time;
2. A study, observation and forecast when it is a question of monitoring the development of social, economic, production or other phenomena and processes which require an extended period of time;
3. Systematic control when the control measure is aimed solely at ensuring the precise and on-time fulfillment of a law, an individual decision, decree or other act of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council or Council of Ministers;
4. Analysis and expert evaluation when control is exercised over the correctness and effectiveness of individual production decisions and their introduction.

#### Section IV: Organization, Execution and Realization of Control Activities

Article 14. (1) The people's control commissions and groups organized along production lines help the party, administrative and economic leadership and the labor collectives in strengthening state and production discipline, in fulfilling the economic and other tasks and with committed weaknesses and shortcomings promptly proposed that the appropriate bodies take the required measures.

(2) The KNK organized along territorial lines exercise their control activities under the leadership of the appropriate party bodies and with assistance from the Fatherland Front committees, the Komsomol, trade union and other social organizations as well as with the people's control commissions and groups at the inspected economic organizations and institutions which operate on their territory.

Article 15. (1) Each control measure is organized by the KNK chairman, his deputies or by another member authorized to do this.

(2) The preparation of the control measure starts with the drawing up of a team (work group, controller brigade) from the people's controllers and other specialists called in for this purpose and the assigning of their leader or leaders if there are several.

Article 16. (1) The control measures are carried out by verbal instructions or according to the approved program (questionnaire). These include the basic and key questions of the problems to be investigated.

(2) It is essential to exclude from the program (questionnaire) the collecting of information on questions for which complete information already exists or can be gained from other information channels.

Article 17. (1) In the people's control commissions and groups, the basic long-term tasks are assigned among the people's controllers, in giving them permanent assignments.

(2) The people's controllers periodically report to the KNK on the fulfillment of the permanent assignments entrusted to them.

Article 18. The people's control commissions and groups carry out a preliminary preparation of their control measures, wherein:

1. They study the enforceable enactments, the orders and decisions of the superior bodies and the administrative and economic leadership relating to the activities to be inspected, the reports, the statistical planning data, briefings and so forth, complaints, warnings and proposals related to the checked questions;

2. They hold consultations with scientific workers and specialists from practice. The work groups (controller brigades) become familiar with the state of work in the objects to be controlled and also with the most recent achievements in the area which is to be checked.

Article 19. (1) The control exercised by the people's control commissions and groups is carried out on the spot where they study the actual state, documents and current reporting. In addition talks are held with workers, white collar personnel and specialists from the checked installations.

(2) Discrepancies and deviations are objectively established in the activities of the checked installation as well as unutilized opportunities, reserves and violations. It is particularly important to bring out the reasons which have given rise to them.

(3) Assistance is also given in exercising control over the elimination of committed weaknesses and shortcomings. For this purpose effective and specific proposals are made concerning a general improvement in the state of the checked facility as well as for eliminating the causes of the specific weaknesses.

(4) The people's control commissions and groups respond quickly and promptly to any questions involving the interests of the labor collective or the public or those raised by their individual members.

Article 20. The necessary laboratory research and other special analyses related to control work of the commissions are to be performed gratis and by priority according to Point 5, Paragraph 2 of the Decree No 76 of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of 27 July 1963 Governing the Ratification of the Regulation Concerning the Organization, Tasks and Rights of the Party and State Control Committees Under the BCP Central Committee and Council of Ministers and Their Bodies (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 51 of 1963).

Article 21. (1) In finding weaknesses, shortcomings and violations the causes of which are rooted in the activities of other economic organizations and labor collectives such as cooperative deliveries, delivered spare parts, fuel and materials and so forth, the KNK can turn to the appropriate KNK at another enterprise with a proposal to carry out a check and eliminate the found shortcomings. The approached commission is obliged to inform what has been done within a 1-month period.

(2) The commission informs the appropriate state and people's control committee concerning its actions under Paragraph 1.

Article 22. Checks and other control forms (procedures) carried out by the KNK must be carried out as much as possible within the shortest time.

Article 23. (1) Checks and other control measures must be concluded with brief protocols or notes which reflect the findings made and draw up proposals to eliminate the committed weaknesses, shortcomings and violations as well as for establishing responsibility of the guilty parties.

(2) Prior to the final drawing up of the notes (protocols), it is essential to hear out the inspected officials and discuss their verbal explanations.

Article 24. (1) The realization of the materials from the control measures carried out by the people's control commissions and groups is done as follows:

1. The checks and other control measures conclude with proposals for the administrative-economic leadership of the inspected object for eliminating the shortcomings, errors and violations and for improving the work;

2. Upon the recommendation of the KNK, with the agreement of the party and administrative-economic leadership, the materials from the control measures can be examined at meetings of the labor collectives or the public and here they discuss measures for eliminating the weaknesses and for improving the work;

3. With the establishing of major infractions of the law or violations by the people's control commissions and groups, the measures are forwarded to the appropriate party body or state and people's control committee and, if necessary, to the prosecutor's office.

(2) In the event that the proposals forwarded to the administrative-economic leadership are not promptly discussed or measures are not taken to eliminate the established weaknesses and violations, the commissions alert the appropriate party leadership and, if necessary, also the appropriate state and people's control committees for establishing liability.

#### Section V: Rights and Duties of the People's Control Commissions and Groups and of the People's Controllers

Article 25. (1) According to Article 15, Paragraph 2 of the Regulation Governing the Law on State and People's Control, the people's control commissions and groups have the right to carry out checks, systematic control, observation, reviews as well as exercising all other forms of control activities according

to the nature and specific features of the object of control as well as their capabilities and competence.

(2) The KNK chairmen are present at the sessions of the administrative and economic leadership and the economic councils of the corresponding departments, and enterprises.

Article 26. In carrying out the tasks assigned to them, the people's controllers have all the rights which are granted the inspectors of the state and people's control committees under Articles 3 and 16, Paragraph 1 of the Law on State and People's Control and Article 2, Paragraph 1, 15, Paragraph 1, 16, 17, Paragraph 1, 13, Paragraph 1 and 21 of the Regulation on its application. According to these provisions, the people's control commissions and the people's controllers have the following rights:

1. Of free access to all activities and divisions of the facilities where they are elected;
2. To demand the documents, information, statements and reports needed for their checks as well as explanations from officials who have committed violations;
3. To seek assistance and help from the state and administrative-economic bodies and organizations as well as officials for correctly elucidating the problems which they are checking;
4. When they establish violations and embezzlements, they can request that the internal control bodies carry out checks or audits and hold the guilty officials responsible.

Article 27. The people's control commissions and groups, with the agreement of the administrative-economic leadership, can call in for help scientific units and scientific workers, specialists, prominent production workers, public and economic figures, youth, pensioners and others.

Article 28. (1) The people's control commissions and groups, on the basis of the findings from the exercised control, have the right to submit proposals:

1. To the leaders of the economic organizations and institutions to eliminate the established weaknesses and violations;
2. To the state and people's control committees for carrying out checks and demanding responsibility, when:
  - a) They establish violations committed by officials;
  - b) Their proposals to the administrative-economic leadership are not reviewed within a 1-month period;
  - c) They are not informed by the administrative-economic leadership of the measures taken to eliminate the weaknesses;

- d) The measures taken are not carried out or are not sufficient or ineffective;
- e) When there are unresolved questions outside the competence of the administrative-economic management.

(2) The administrative-economic leaders who have received proposals under Paragraph 1, Point 1 are obliged to review them within a 1-month period and inform the commission of the measures taken.

Article 29. The people's control commissions and groups report on their work and the results of their control activities periodically, at least once every 6 months, to the assemblies of the labor collectives and the public in the villages and residential districts where they have been elected. They also report on their activities to the appropriate party bodies and organizations as well as to the superior state and people's control committees.

Article 30. (1) The people's controllers who have not justified the trust shown in them, who have evidenced formalism or irresponsibility to the set tasks or have abused the rights given them can be recalled by the labor collectives or the public which elected them.

(2) Proposals to recall people's controllers can be made by primary party organizations, public organizations, individual members of the labor collective or state and people's control committees.

(3) The decisions to recall a people's controller are taken by the general assembly of the labor collective or the public which elected him.

#### Section VI: Relationships of the People's Control Commissions With Other Control Bodies and Public Organizations

Article 31. (1) The people's control commissions and groups can participate in carrying out joint control measures with the state and people's control committees or with their individual representatives in the measures carried out by the committees.

(2) The joint control measures carried out can be realized by the appropriate committees.

(3) The people's control commissions upon request submit the materials of their own control measures to the state and people's control committees.

Article 32. The people's control commissions carry out joint control measures with public organizations such as the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Komsomol and others. The results of the joint measures are realized jointly or separately at the KNK or the public organization.

Article 33. (1) The people's control commissions can carry out joint control measures with the bodies of specialized state control.

(2) The people's control commissions, with the approval of the leadership of the specialized state control bodies, can call in these bodies' associates and specialists in the KNK control activities.

Article 34. (1) The people's control commissions carry out joint control activities with the bodies of intradepartmental control, with this being done jointly or by each body individually.

(2) The people's control commissions, with the agreement of the leadership of the intradepartmental control bodies, can call in these bodies' associates or specialists for participating in the KNK control activities.

Article 35. (1) The people's control commissions carry out joint control activities or participate in these carried out by the permanent committees of the people's councils (okrug, obshtina, rayon).

(2) The implementing of the joint control measures under Paragraph 1 can be done jointly or by each body separately and according to its competence.

(3) The people's control commissions upon request submit materials from their control measures to the permanent commissions.

#### Section VII: Leadership and Encouraging the Activities of the People's Control Commissions and Groups

Article 36. The membership of the KNK includes the representatives of the labor collectives and public organizations, active and well-regarded workers, white collar personnel and specialists, particularly women and young persons who have the trust and respect of the labor collective and the public in the settlements and residential districts.

Article 37. (1) The people's control commissions and groups are active assistants of the party bodies and organizations. With their aid and support, they focus their activities on resolving the most important problems of the enterprise, organization and institution, they provide direct participation of the labor collective and public in control and by carrying out all-encompassing, effective and preventive control they increase their feeling of responsibility and of being the masters of socialist property.

(2) For achieving the goals under Paragraph 1, the KNK submit for discussion to the party bodies their plans and materials from the more important checks and inform them periodically of the state of the control and organizational-procedural activities as well as of the work of the communists sent with assignments in control. They also make proposals to hold responsible to the party those communists who have committed violations.

(3) The people's control commissions and groups seek the assistance of the party bodies for overcoming difficulties which have arisen in the course of the control process, for the prompt fulfillment of proposals made by them on the part of the administrative-economic leadership, for strengthening the social prestige and authority of the people's controllers as well as for their moral and material incentives.

Article 38. (1) For broadening democracy and strengthening the preventiveness and indoctrinational nature of control as well as for increasing its effectiveness, the KNK widely publicize their control activities. They employ the following forms:

1. They inform the labor collectives on the results of the control work, in using for this purpose production meetings, sessions of the management, assemblies of the public organizations and labor collectives;

2. They make announcements over the local loudspeaker systems or by another suitable method publicize the forthcoming checks and invite the labor collectives and public to assist by providing warnings and proposals;

3. They prepare and send for publication to the central and local press and for broadcasting over radio and television suitable materials reflecting the basic aspects of their activities, the measures taken and the improvements which have occurred as a result of control;

4. They organize panels, displays, corners and publish wall newspapers, leaflets and so forth. In these they widely reflect the results of the checks and the positive changes which have occurred in the corresponding units and facilities.

(2) Publicity is not to be given to materials, facts and circumstances which represent official or state secrets.

Article 39. (1) The people's controllers are encouraged spiritually and materially for initiative and creativity shown in control activities, for high effectiveness of control for preventive work done to promptly eliminate weaknesses, to disclose reserves and unutilized opportunities in production, for help provided by them in carrying out the tasks of the labor collectives.

(2) The people's controllers can be submitted for the presentation of governmental orders and medals while the Committee for State and People's Control can present them with:

1. The honorary emblem "For Services in the Area of State and People's Control" either gold, silver or bronze;

2. A diploma;

3. A certificate.

(3) Upon the proposal of the party bodies and organizations, the committees of state and people's control, the KNK and upon the initiative of the ministers, the leaders of the central bodies and okrug people's councils and the leaders of economic organizations and enterprises, people's controllers and specialists who have distinguished themselves in control activities can receive awards.

(4) Upon the proposal of the Fatherland Front committees, the people's controllers can be presented the insignia of the Fatherland Front.

Article 40. Under the leadership of the party bodies and the committees for state and people's control, the people's control commissions and groups should show constant concern for increasing the skills of the people's controllers. For this purpose they employ the following forms:

1. They organize schools and conduct courses and seminars, lectures are read and talks are held on the methods of control activities as well as on individual questions of the economics and organization of production and labor and so forth;

2. They propose that the party committees and bureaus include the people's controllers in the courses, seminars, lectures and other forms of political and economic instruction organized by the party and economic leadership for the party, economic, trade union, Fatherland Front and Komsomol aktiv;

3. They organize the exchange of experience with the KNK from similar enterprises and organizations and show concern for introducing the experience of the control bodies from the socialist countries and primarily from Soviet people's control.

#### Concluding Provisions

§1. These instructions are issued on the basis of Article 14 of the Regulation Governing the Application of the Law of State and People's Control (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 7 of 1975) and replace Instructions No 1 Governing the Work of the People's Control Commissions and Groups (DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 63 of 1978).

§2. The instructions are approved by the full membership of the Committee for State and People's Control at its session of 5 October 1984.

For the chairman: V. Semkov

10272

CSO: 2200/47

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV FRG VISIT POSSIBLE

AU101552 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Dec 84

[Text] Despite the fact that his visit to Bonn, planned for September, was called off, Todor Zhivkov, head of the Bulgarian state and party, has expressed Sofia's interest in good relations with the FRG. In an interview to the Bonn SPD paper, VORWAERTS, Zhivkov said that a visit to Bonn next year by him is not excluded. He confirmed Bulgaria's desire for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans and confirmed that there are no chemical or bacteriological weapons in Bulgaria.

Zhivkov was rather reserved about the intention of the superpowers to continue the disarmament negotiations in Geneva, saying that this is a spark of hope, but that it is still too early for a Reagan-Chernenko meeting.

CSO: 2200/64

ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT AWARD CEREMONY FOR USSR HISTORIAN

AU051545 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Sofia, 3 Dec (BTA correspondent Zveta Ivanova report)--Today Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, presented the "Cyril and Methodius" international award to the USSR's Genadiy Litavrin. This authoritative award is being presented to this outstanding scholar and historian for his work in Slavonics and ancient Bulgarian studies.

In most sincerely congratulating the award winner on this honor, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed: You are the first historian who has been conferred this honor and I am very happy to present it to you in person.

It is hardly necessary to point out in your presence, in the presence of such an outstanding Soviet scholar, the significance of historical science in building a new society. It is unnecessary to stress its importance for the consolidation of the people's creative achievements as builders of their own destinies.

I would, however, like to emphasize that history for us means the people's life and this is why every nation with self-respect, every nation that sets new goals for itself and is about to accomplish them, every nation striving for a happier future and for a more prestigious place among other peoples is entitled and obliged to study its own past, because it is in this past that we discover not only our roots and character, but also our own experience and lessons, as well as the possibilities for creative work.

The Bulgarian people's history, the history of the Bulgarian state and of our country as a whole, is long and complicated, but I would like to add that the longer and the more complicated a history is, the more varied and favorable opportunities it opens for research, for discovery, as well as for the evaluation of talents and skills, and for implementing the call and duty of science.

As it appears from the titles of your books, you are studying and analyzing basic questions of our remote past, connected with the settlement of the Slavs and ancient Bulgarians on the Balkan peninsula, questions pertaining to socio-economic conditions in the first Bulgarian state and to the cultural achievements of the Bulgarian people in the Middle Ages, as well as pertaining to the struggles for liberation from Byzantine power; you are dealing with Bulgaria's contribution to ideological thought in the European world of those days, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

On all these questions which are of great importance for us and for our science your stands are the result of Marxist-Leninist methodology, supported by the strength of facts and of historical truth.

Your point of view that the Bulgarian state was established as a result of cooperation and common interests between Slavs and ancient Bulgarians, in their joint struggle for independence and self-assertion, deserves ardent support.

Your research, which is supported by Bulgarian and internationally famous scholars, naturally imposes the conclusion that the fact of Bulgaria's acceptance of the Christian faith and the establishment of an original Bulgarian literacy and culture was not only the beginning, but also the conclusion of a controversial, but consistent, comprehensive process.

In your opinion, the second Bulgarian state is undoubtedly a continuation of the first one with its ethnical, political, and cultural characteristic features and traditions. It is the achievement of the same Bulgarian people, who, under the leadership of the Asen dynasty displayed their great awareness of self-assertion and independence.

Your evaluations about the Bulgarian Bogomil movement [religious sect in the Middle Ages related to the Albigenses in southern France, but generally recognized as specifically Bulgarian] as one of the greatest social and religious teachings not only in Bulgaria, but throughout medieval Europe, evoke our feeling of national pride.

To put it briefly, you are contributing to the consolidation and development of the national self-esteem and self-awareness of the Bulgarian people, to the self-esteem and self-awareness of the Bulgarian people, to the self-esteem and self-awareness, which is inspiring the present generations with the ardent desire to make history, which for us, means to participate in the construction of socialism and communism in our country, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated.

Naturally, through you, we are paying tribute to all Soviet scholars who in recent years have done so much and are still doing so much in their efforts to develop the various trends and branches of Bulgarian studies--history, linguistics, literature, folklore, ethnography, archeology, and so forth.

Permit me to express my conviction that the cooperation between scholars in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union on this problem, which is so important and necessary for us, will continue to develop and that you, as deputy chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Historical Commission, will continue to work with your characteristic inspiration, courage, and selfless devotion.

Once more congratulating the Soviet scholar, Comrade Todor Zhivkov cordially wished him a long life, health, and vigor, as well as new successes in his scholarly research work.

CSO: 2200/64

BTA CORRESPONDENT ON SMALL ENTERPRISE ADVANTAGES

AU111117 Sofia BTA in English 0739 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)--Our correspondent on economic matters Lyubomir Dimitrov comments:

The Bulgarian economy is seeking ways for greater adaptability to the dynamically changing conditions of production and trade both on international and domestic scale. One of these ways is setting up small enterprises.

At first glance this runs counter to another tendency--that of concentration of production, which remains in full force. But in actual fact there is no contradiction, since the small enterprises themselves are a kind of concentration. They have nothing to do with the one-time factories in which great store was set by the extensive factors almost exclusively.

Highly automated, sometimes complete automations [flexible automated production systems--FAP], the small enterprises often outrun the production volume of comparatively new and big works, which only reached a degree of partial automation. In some of them the production personnel can be counted on the fingers of the hand, and this means an annual output of hundreds of thousands, even millions of leva per person employed.

The small enterprises provide units, details and consumer goods the production of which at the big combined works and factories would not have been profitable due to the limitations in the batch production. In this sense they provide an extremely important reserve for the big industrial formations, closely linked with them by the strength of many stipulations in the new economic mechanism.

But this is not the main thing. As already mentioned, the small enterprises manufacture a big quantity of various products in small series. With the quickly changing conjuncture this provides for much better possibilities to manoeuvre, for adapting to the needs of the market and of the production itself, too. In brief, the small enterprises overcome much more easily the production inertia, an evil hard to cope with at the big industrial systems. Their advantages are undeniable also as far as investment, refunding, reconstruction and updating are concerned.

About 120 small enterprises have recently been built in Bulgaria, mainly in the sphere of the food, light and partly chemical industries. In the next few years their number is planned to increase to two or three thousand, covering more widely the chemical productions as well as mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, electronics and metallurgy.

The small enterprises also promise social advantages. As a rule they are built in economically more backward regions where the employment is lower. In this way the local population is provided with jobs and the migration to the big industrial centers is curbed economically.

An example typical in this respect is the Strandzh-Sakar region in the South-eastern part of this country, where many young people went to work. In the near future Strandzh-Sakar is seen as a region of highly developed animal husbandry, combined with modern industry, represented by small enterprises in the first place.

CSO: 2200/64

KOHL PARTICIPATION IN 'REVANCHIST' CONGRESS CRITICIZED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 84 p 1, 6

[Article by Vitezslav Havlicek: "The Prime Minister Among the 'Revanchists'"]

[Text] The most open forum for voicing revanchist demands after the rightest government came to power in the FRG 2 years ago was the Saturday congress of so-called east German landschaften in Bonn. CDU Chairman and Federal Prime Minister H. Kohl and CSU chairman and Bavarian Prime Minister F.J. Strauss took part in this provocative meeting at the CDU headquarters.

"The Federal Republic is not the entire, definitive Germany," said H. Hupka, CDU deputy to the Federal Parliament and chairman of this "holding" organization of landschaften, in his opening statement. "The German question is open and we must keep it open," he declared, and maintained that the present situation in Europe is a state of lawlessness which "must be corrected by reversing the wheels of history." He screamed that "the German Reich continues to exist within its 1937 borders." He also attacked the West German press, which allegedly pays too little attention to these revanchist plans, and was particularly enraged in denouncing the recommendation of the joint government commission aimed at the elimination of revanchist theses from West German textbooks.

Neither Kohl nor Strauss dissociated himself from these outrageous statements. On the contrary, their speeches, which often contained "cold war" vocabulary, reconfirmed the common interests of the revanchists and CDU-CSU political parties as well as the support rendered by the present government coalition to revanchism.

As he did in Braunschweig some time ago, the prime minister described his participation in this provocative meeting as an "absolute matter of course". The yellow journal published by the Sudeten Germans had already boasted that Kohl promised participation on behalf of his party at the meeting which will take place next year. While Prime Minister Kohl did not fail to reiterate his willingness to engage in dialogue and peaceful cooperation, he repeated soon afterward his characteristic ideas about the observance of treaties with the socialist countries.

"The German question remains open in both the political and legal sense," declared the prime minister in support of the revanchists' position from which

they deduce their territorial and other "claims." By asserting that the effort to put them through "had nothing in common with aggressiveness and revanchism," Kohl subsequently tried to cover up the danger of such schemes and declarations.

The Bavarian leader Strauss cast doubts on the postwar organization of Europe, disparaged the contributions of the policy of detente and attacked the so-called eastern treaties, which allegedly benefit the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He cynically insulted those who had contributed to their conclusion. He described himself as their principal adversary particularly because of the "necessity of keeping the German question open, about which there must be no doubt." He came out in full support of the hazardous policy of dealing from a position of strength, for military intimidation, for economic blackmail of the socialist countries.

The congress concluded with the adoption of a "resolution" which sums up the revanchists' demands in the determination of FRG foreign policy toward the socialist countries and aims at the disruption of the postwar organization of Europe.

10501

CSO: 2400/95

## ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Ladislav Alster: "On the Threshold of New Opportunities"]

[Text] The official visit of the prime minister of the CSSR Government to Mexico came to an end last Friday. Comrade Lubomir Strougal held discussions with Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtad, Foreign Minister Bernard Sepulveda and other political officials. The subject of these discussions was the problems of bilateral relations between the CSSR and Mexico as well as the key questions of international politics at the present time. The discussions revealed agreement on the part of both parties on a number of key problems particularly on the necessity to intensify--in the present tense and constantly deteriorating situation--the struggle for peace and relaxation of international tension, to bring to a halt the arms race which represents an increasingly horrible risk for the world and particularly for Europe. Both parties also examined the situation in Central America, and Comrade Strougal expressed his appreciation for the efforts of the Contadora states. As Comrade Strougal stressed at the press conference, no controversial issues or views emerged in the course of these negotiations.

The identity or affinity of political positions is to a considerable extent strengthened by the similar historical experiences of both countries, which in the course of recent history have had to wage a fatal struggle for their liberty and national independence. Czechoslovakia achieved independence after a strenuous struggle only in this century, lost it as a result of the Munich Agreement and experienced the worst period of its history in the ensuing 6 years. Mexico had to fight in several wars for its existence. Although in these wars Mexico was robbed by the United States of a considerable part of its territory, it was successful in defending its freedom and independence.

The relations between our two countries have their traditions. One of the brightest was the renaming of San Jeronimo as San Jeronimo-Lidice 42 years ago, when our own town of Lidice was destroyed and its inhabitants killed by the Nazi occupiers. This gesture meant a great deal at that time for our struggle for independence and will never be forgotten, as the CSSR Government prime minister emphasized when visiting this community. At the present time the legacy of Lidice represents above all the emphasis on the necessity to intensify the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The visit, however, strengthened the relations in other areas, particularly in the sphere of the national economy. CSSR Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban and Mexican Secretary of Trade and Industrial Development Hector Hernandez signed a declaration on economic and industrial cooperation which should contribute gradually to the further expansion of economic relations between the two countries.

Properly coinciding with the discussions on these issues was the Camexpo exhibition, at which the CSSR within the joint exhibition of seven CEMA states exhibited its representative products, aimed at eliciting the interest of the Mexican public, Mexican economic representatives and entrepreneurs in its products.

Czechoslovak-Mexican economic relations have developed generally satisfactorily so far. Nevertheless, there still remain many possibilities which could be used. In the first place it is possible to expand mutual commodity exchange. The CSSR can deliver to Mexico complete industrial plants in which the United States of Mexico would be interested. However, other ways can be found, for example, strengthening specialization and cooperation of both countries and starting cooperation in joint ventures.

Mexico is a developing country which is experiencing certain problems at the present time. This, however, is not to say that it is a country which is technically or economically backward. In the first place, Mexico is one of the most important crude oil producers in the world. Large capital investments are made in Mexico by the United States, smaller investments by Japan and other capitalist countries, and these investments are to be made useful. Mexicans, the descendants and heirs of ancient Aztecs, are very skillful and hard-working people with still-unused large reserves of labor. All this opens possibilities for increasing mutual economic relations.

The CSSR, on the other hand, possesses a developed and diversified processing industry which is overburdened with a number of tasks. "We continue to manufacture, symbolically speaking, virtually everything from pins to nuclear power plants," pointed out the prime minister of the CSSR Government. "This offers good prospects for expanding the mutual division of labor so that Mexico can take over some appropriate types of production and manufacture suitable products even for the CSSR. In this respect we are on threshold of new opportunities and it will be up to us and the Mexicans what use we will make of them," said Comrade Strougal upon the conclusion of his visit.

Despite its brevity, the visit definitely attained the set goals and resulted not only in further rapprochement between the two countries and strengthening of their relations in the political, economic, cultural and other areas, but also represented a significant contribution to the evaluation of urgent political issues which are of interest to the entire world and all mankind.

10501  
CSO: 2400/95

LOSSES SEEN DUE TO INDIFFERENCE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Karel Walter]

[Excerpts] Each day the reports on criminal activity prepared by our National Security Corps contain among other things facts revealing a high number of burglaries of the property of socialist organizations. For example, in Central Bohemia Kraj last year burglars stole socialist property worth almost Kcs 5 million. Members of the National Security Corps have found serious shortcomings in the ways socialist property is being protected.

The decree by the Federal Ministry of the Interior concerning the protection of socialist property, SBIRKA ZAKONU 135/1983, became effective 1 July 1984. The decree streamlined the system of protection of the property of socialist organizations and determined the scope of responsibility of economic functions. Among other things, the decree deals with the cooperation of socialist organizations with the organs of the National Security Corps with respect to technical assistance and methods, the control and the obligation to cooperate to prevent and discover criminal activity on the premises of the organization. Within 30 days after filing a report concerning shortcomings in the protection of property, the organization is obliged to inform the organs of the National Security Corps of the measures it has taken to remedy the situation.

The best regulation, however, is meaningless unless the people affected by it are willing to obey it. The organizations are expected to implement the principles spelled out in the decree through their own directives which, compared with the existing regulations, are administratively much simpler.

What kind of a situation is there in Prague 4? Certain plants or their branches have not yet received these instructions from their superior organizations. While the most important enterprises have elaborated on the new measures, they have done so with different levels of intensity, which also reflects the varying degrees of interest of managers in this problem. Our comrades in the Sigma plant in Modrany, in the Orion plant,

and in the ZPA plant conducted themselves in an exemplary way. What a contrast this presents, however, with the research institute in Michle, where there are certain people who could do much better than issue an illegible copy of old directives.

The night was already changing into dawn when a sharp signal sounded in the operational center of the district directorate of the National Security Corps. The officer on duty gave directives to the squads. Within a few minutes, one of them reported: We have apprehended a perpetrator attempting to burglarize a premise...

There is a growing number of similar speedy actions taking place in the capital city of Prague as well as elsewhere in the republic. We are increasingly resorting to technology, effectively managed and utilized by the people, in our struggle with criminals.

In Prague 4 there are hundreds of properties belonging to various socialist organizations which a potential perpetrator can select for his "hit." These are production plants, administrative buildings, warehouses, computer centers. We are not talking only about values in the material sense of the word but also about possible damage to technology, computers, etc.

"Even in our district we already have in operation a monitoring screen of centralized control to which more and more properties are hooked up," Captain Otakar Egermaier said. "This means that to prevent crime we use more and more security and protective technology. Naturally, even in this area the final effect depends to a great extent on the willingness of the organizations and individuals to participate actively in protecting our common property."

There are many who are really willing. However, it is incomprehensible that there is a lack of interest in those places where technical protection would be more than desirable. Certain enterprises are openly reluctant. Compared with the value of the protected properties or the cost for other things, the price of the safety devices is certainly not high. In addition, the Czech State Insurance Agency, in line with its role, reimburses up to 80 percent of the cost of these devices, depending on the significance of the item.

What, then, are the reasons for this lack of interest? Perhaps it is easier to take a chance and have the insurance agency pay for the damage. In the first 6 months of 1984, the Czech State Insurance Agency paid out over Kcs 2 million for stolen goods to the socialist organizations located within the administrative territory of the capital city of Prague. However, if the organization is not insured, obviously it does not care about a loss here and there. Finally, we can think even of another possibility, namely that a burglary may come handy for the head of an organization.

It is an October evening. We are accompanying a staff worker of the Criminal Service, First Lieutenant Oldrich Hula, on his round of the construction sites in Modrany-Komorany in South City II. There one can find a good selection even for discriminating burglars--easily accessible or only poorly protected machines and expensive equipment. This represents an impressive selection of materials often considered unavailable. There is no protection. Nobody pays any attention to us. Dozens of organizations participating in the project obviously do not worry about the fact that there would not be a place for them in the budget.

During the first 10 months of 1984, the Prague 4 District Directorate of the National Security Corps registered over 300 burglaries of the property of socialist organizations. Of them approximately one-third were in the construction sector. Comrade Hula talks about cases where responsible officials had either no manpower or means to protect valuable equipment or material. In the end, they reported the loss. The question to be asked then is the following: Will there be an increased number of reported thefts toward the end of the year, at the time of inventories?

Experience leads us to the conclusion that improved technical safety, better protection and labor discipline could prevent a large number of criminal acts. Many properties the perpetrators select are under socialist ownership and the need to make them fully secure ought to be obvious. The responsible managers have this obligation spelled out in the regulations. In many cases, however, we are still meeting apathy in this respect, to put it mildly. Overall, the loss seems to be relatively small in comparison with the value this or that organization creates or administers. However, what is dangerous for our society is the fact that these thefts are numerous, as are their causes. Hence, party and state organs are more and more interested in protecting socialist property. Resolutions, decrees and penalties are not enough. It is necessary for us to be critical of ourselves and our coworkers, to abandon our indifference, and to create a climate hostile to slapdash behavior and irresponsibility.

1277

CSO: 2400/87

## UPGRADING OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN SLOVAKIA

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak No 41, 1984 p 3

[Article by Eng Jozef Kiss, SSR deputy minister of education: "The Quality of Tomorrow's Living Is Being Decided Already Today"]

[Excerpts] Supplying Our School System

Capital investment and technical expansion of the school system are being carried out in the area of preschool facilities, primary and secondary schools with funds from the national committees, in the area of vocational schools with funds supplied by individual ministries, and in the area of higher schools with funds from the SSR Ministry of Education. A purposeful and effective use of funds is the fundamental task and duty of all participants in the investment process, from the investors to design engineers to the building contractors and suppliers of facilities.

Capital Construction

Capital construction occupies a special and important place in creating conditions for acquiring additional space and improving the standard of schools and school facilities managed by the national committees. Investment funds amounting to approximately Kcs 786 million were budgeted last year for the construction of schools and educational facilities under the jurisdiction of national committees. A substantial part of investment work and deliveries was carried out within comprehensive housing construction at kindergartens and primary schools. The allotted funds, however, were not completely spent and the tasks were fulfilled by only 97.7 percent of the annual plan. In addition to these tasks, a considerable volume of work was carried out within project "Z" [community self-improvement program] through construction and reconstructions by enterprises. The value of work thus carried out on schools and educational facilities exceeded Kcs 304 million, while the value of added new wings and additional stories amounted to approximately Kcs 17 million.

The construction progress significantly affected the completion of new capacities. Despite the effort of building contractors the capacities plan was not fulfilled in all indicators, and in comparison with the previous year there was a certain decline in the number of completed classrooms. Substantially better results were achieved in the completion of school construction, where the trend in building new gymnasias, workshops, specialized classrooms, school cafeterias

and youth centers continues. In all forms of construction approximately 800 classrooms were completed last year, 410 of which were in primary schools and 327 in kindergartens, 1,724 places in school cafeterias, 1,140 square meters in youth centers, more than 10,000 square meters in gymnasias in addition to other projects which will provide more room in our schools.

The national committees do not face an easier situation in fulfilling the tasks of school construction this year. The plan calls for investments of approximately Kcs 795 million and for the completion within special and comprehensive housing construction of 591 classrooms and additional buildings within project "Z," and for reconstructions which are carried out primarily in those towns and communities where, because of the introduction of obligatory 10-year school attendance, the need is most urgent and construction most feasible and realizable within the shortest possible time.

Despite the fact that considerable funds were allotted for the expansion of the material-technical base of higher schools in previous years, their capacities still remain inadequate and the progress in constructing the material-technical base lags behind the needs. The situation in the available area is affected by the fact that the increases in newly built capacities are not keeping pace with the increases in the number of students. It is anticipated that the problem in terms of economic and social growth of schools will be solved by 1995.

In 1983 the SSR Ministry of Education fulfilled the capital investment plan of Kcs 373 million by 95.68 percent, including construction work by 81.42 percent. Much better results were achieved in capacity increases in 1983, when the plan targets were substantially surpassed.

In housing of higher school students 1,620 beds were acquired by the completion of parts A-D of college dormitory "B" at the Bratislava Slovak Advanced Technical School (564 beds), student hostel No 1 of the Kosice Advanced Technical School (636 beds) and Building No 1 of the student hostel at the Zilina Advanced School of Transportation and Communications (420 beds).

For the instruction of higher school students 39,969 square meters of net use area were made available through the gradual completion of buildings "B" and "C" and lecture rooms "B-C" at the Electrical Engineering Faculty of the Bratislava Slovak Advanced Technical School (11,693 square meters of net utility area), through the completion of the second stage of instruction buildings of the higher school campus of Pedagogical Faculty and Philosophy Faculty of Pavel Jozef Safarik University at Presov (12,730 square meters of net utility area), by the completion of the department offices, administrative offices and classrooms of the Zvolen Advanced School of Forestry and Timber (13,691 square meters of net utility area), through the completion of the Experimental Production Center of the Agricultural Training Enterprise of the Advanced School of Veterinary Medicine at Zemplinska Teplica (1,575 square meters of net utility area) and of the Pavilion of Management and Production Processes of the Nitra Advanced School of Agriculture (280 square meters of net utility area).

The amount of Kcs 20,245 million was spent in 1983 on the construction projects, with budgeted costs of below Kcs 2 million. The planned number of 19 projects designed for completion was not only met, but even surpassed because a total of 21 projects were completed and turned over for use, and this considerably contributed to the improvement of conditions of higher school students and teachers.

The concept of capital investment based on the prospective development of higher schools up to the year 2000 and the program of further development of the Czechoslovak educational and school system call for providing by the year 2000 12 square meters of utility area per student, for accommodating 80 percent of all students in dormitories and 85 percent in cafeterias.

At the present time SSR higher schools have at their disposal 13 medium and large computers, 65 minicomputers and 365 microcomputers, including personal computers. The time capacity of computers registered at the SSR Ministry of Education is 75.6 percent, which we consider adequate for the tasks of the school system in this area.

In developing the new concept of the installation and use of computers at all types of schools in the SSR we proceed from the basic task of the schools system and also from the principal goal, which is on the one hand to educate experts for this area and on the other hand to train practical users in all areas of our national economy. It follows from this that the computers installed in our schools must be the type that will be available to graduates in their subsequent practical employment.

In the area of JSEP computers we will concentrate on the EC 1026 computers and their innovated type the EC 1027. We plan to furnish school computer centers and some schools of higher learning with these computers. From the JSEP computer series we also want to install EC 1045 computers or EC 1046 computers at the larger higher schools in the SSR.

These medium and large computers will perform the function of central computers in the organization of the computer network of the Ministry of Education, and at the same time will be used for the training of graduates, for scientific research and for the operation of automated management systems and automated information systems. We plan to install 11 computers from the JSEP series by 1990.

From the system of small electronic computers (SMEP) we anticipate the installation of SM 4/20 computers at higher and secondary schools, and also the installation of SM 52/11, and eventually SM 52/11.M1 and SM 52/12. At some secondary and higher schools we want to install SM 53/10 computers primarily for controlling technological and other processes. In the nearest future (that is, prior to 1990) we plan to install more than 200 minicomputers throughout the Ministry of Education.

In training the young generation extraordinary emphasis is placed on microcomputers and personal computers, which we want to use in all types of schools. Among the microcomputers we are focusing primarily on the most modern types to be manufactured in Czechoslovakia, namely on the SM 50/40, SM 50/50 and SM 50 10.M1. In the nearest future (prior to 1990) we plan to install approximately 30 computers of these types at secondary schools and approximately 750-800 at higher schools in the SSR.

Among the school computers we intend to install Didactic ALFA computers in secondary schools in regard to which the manufacturer cooperates on developing a basic program for the needs of the educational process in secondary schools.

We want to install approximately 1,200 computers of this type in our secondary schools. For the needs of primary schools we will install various types of calculators, from the simplest types to more complex ones, so that students at these schools can get acquainted with the basic functions of these calculators and acquire certain habits needed in learning about computer equipment at secondary and higher schools.

At universities we plan to build in the nearest future--by hooking up large, medium, mini-, micro- and personal computers--22 standard laboratories, 7 local networks and 4 computer complexes for the needs of the educational process and training of future experts and users of computer equipment.

Our society is allocating increasingly greater funds for the SSR school system. While the expenditures from the state budget on these tasks amounted to almost Kcs 7 billion in 1975, they increased to Kcs 8.5 billion in 1980 and exceeded Kcs 9 billion in 1983. The budget provides funds in the total amount of Kcs 9.5 billion for the needs of the SSR school system in 1984, and their increase as well as the modernization of the material-technical base of the school system are anticipated in the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. To achieve this goal the SSR Ministry of Education, higher schools, other centrally managed organizations as well as the national committees at all levels must enact measures which will ensure that the allocated funds will be used economically in the future and that they will contribute to the further improvement of the educational process at schools.

10501

CSO: 2400/94

BRIEFS

POLICE DISPERSE DEMONSTRATORS--Prague, 8 Dec (AFP)--Czechoslovak police used truncheons today to disperse 300 young demonstrators who were marking the fourth anniversary of the assassination of beatle John Lennon. Six demonstrators were arrested. The police, some with dogs, charged the demonstrators twice after they marched for a kilometer (half a mile) in downtown Prague. Mr Lennon was assassinated by a deranged assassin who shot him as he walked out of his New York apartment on December 9, 1980. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1934 GMT 8 Dec 84]

CSO: 2020/37

## HUNGARY

### DISSIDENT WRITER INTERVIEWED ABOUT SAMIZDAT PUBLICATION

Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 26 Sep 84 p 8

[Interview with dramatist Istvan Eorsi by Peter Huth: "The Grip Tightens as Dissatisfaction Grows"]

[Text] Istvan Eorsi, born in Budapest in 1931, is a poet, dramatist, essayist, and translator. He belonged to the school and the circle of friends of Gyorgy Lukacs. He participated in the Hungarian uprising of 1956, was sentenced to prison for 8 years, and was granted amnesty in 1960. Several volumes of his poetry have been published, and he is the author of 10 stage plays. In October 1984 his play "Das Verhoer" [The Interrogation] will premier on the Berlin stage. Since 1983 Istvan Eorsi has been in West Berlin at the invitation of the "German Academic Exchange Service."

Berlin--Whereas in this country the public prosecutor's office is constantly endeavoring to interfere with the appearance of disagreeable newspapers by means of the terrorism clause, the Hungarian authorities content themselves with lesser but systematic harassments such as telephone bugging, personal surveillance, house searches, and repeated fines because of the creation and dissemination of unauthorized publications. At present, it is the cultural journal BESZELO and its editors, the philosopher Janos Kis, the sociologist Miklos Haraszti, the literary critic Ferenc Koozeg, the civil engineer Nagy Baliut, and the poet Gyorgy Petri who are enjoying the unwanted attention of the organs of the State.

"The Speaker" or "Consultation Time in Jail"--according to the equivocal title--has managed nine editions so far. In the editorial of one of its latest editions, the editorial staff informs its readers that not long ago it tried to obtain official permission for the publication of its journal. Upon an inquiry, the authority made known that the application had not survived the journey through the agencies and had gotten lost somewhere within the floors of the Hungarian parliament. A second application was then refused without any reason given. The Hungarian dramatist Istvan Eorsi spoke with the TAGESZEITUNG about BESZELO.

[Question] Why is it just BESZELO which is exposed to State repressions? What does it say that is so dangerous?

[Answer] I do not think that this journal is the only one being persecuted more now. That is a general trend. The desire now is to establish order. BESZELO is perhaps being persecuted the most severely because it has the greatest influence: It is produced by people whose democratic and socialist convictions cannot be disputed. Whenever a system constructs a monolithic ideology it feels threatened by people who can offer a genuine alternative from the same stock of ideas. These people must be taken very seriously. Their passion is not determined by rage, nor by an abstractly oppositionist attitude, but by concrete ideas. For example, Janos Kis--who at the moment is playing an important role in the practical editorial work--has written two analyses on the situation in Hungary, from which he derives practical proposals for economic and democratic reforms. This analysis would have been impossible without a Marxist foundation. I do not mean to say by this that Kis is not also critical toward Marxism, but nevertheless his entire attitude is stamped by it. I could mention still other articles in the last three issues. Nobody can thrust aside these proposals so easily with arguments. One cannot even talk about them officially, because they are specific. One also cannot heap scorn upon them. One must forbid them.

Because of the qualifications of the authors of this journal, the party's artificial hierarchy of values, which until the appearance of the samizdat overshadowed all domains, can be maintained now only with difficulty. That is why BESZELO is so dangerous.

[Question] On the one hand, samizdat journals give persons who have been elbowed aside the chance to publish. On the other hand, debates are to be fostered. To whom do the articles address themselves?

[Answer] By no means is it true that only persons who have been "elbowed aside" can voice their opinions here. In some cases, people are declared to be non-persons because they voice their opinions in such journals. For example, I used to be a recognized, not very popular writer, not at all popular in official circles. I was permitted to publish everywhere, but not everything. Because I went to BESZELO with my officially unacceptable articles or published them abroad, I became a "banned author." Now I can voice my opinions only with great difficulties. Everyone has the chance to go back if he disassociates himself from the samizdat. It is the decision each and every person must make for himself.

Now as to the question proper: In my opinion, the articles have two target groups. For one thing they address themselves with their proposals to people in the apparatus of the party and State who feel that economic and political reforms are necessary if we do not want to get into a situation similar to that in Poland. I am not an economist, but like everybody I am aware, and I have read, that Hungary is completely dependent on loans from the West. This is the reason why although the party wants economic reforms, it does not want political reforms. Now every person schooled in

Marxism, and in Hungary everybody has learned Marxism, knows that the one does not work without the other.

In addition, BESZELO is also addressed to students and intellectuals who are not happy with the official press. To people who would like to read a journal which is not stamped by censorship and self-censorship.

Unfortunately, and this applies to the entire opposition movement, BESZELO does not have any genuine contact with the working class. Nevertheless, with a relatively small circulation of 1,000 to 2,000 copies this journal has a very large public. This is due also to "Radio Free Europe," which adopts articles from each edition in its program. But this results in a problem as well. Namely, the editors of BESZELO and also other opposition elements are accused of being the accomplices of Radio Free Europe. I have written the following on this: With German help, Lenin has come back to Russia. He had no other way to do so. But who says that German capitalists have been very happy about what Lenin has done? Every group which has no official opportunity to publish must take advantage of the ways which are available to it. Corruption always begins at the point where someone makes his writing conform so that it will be accepted.

[Question] It is mentioned again and again on the part of of Hungarian opposition elements that repression has been increasing ever since the military coup in Poland. Are those in power afraid? Are there not also inner-Hungarian causes of this repression?

[Answer] When I talk about the Polish question I have to say that it is not a Hungarian reaction, but a Soviet one. These states, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, are not independent--of course, that is true also of the Western states--and when something happens like it did in Poland the Soviet Union increases its control.

The Hungarian politicians under the leadership of Kadar would like to salvage something of Hungary's exceptional status and leave open the possibility of economic reforms and experiments. After all, following the bloody restoration of 1956 there were many democratic triumphs. They would like to salvage these by following the Soviet Union unconditionally in the foreign-policy area.

Naturally there are problems in Hungary. As everywhere, the economic situation is worsening. Prices for meat and other foods are rising. This means that the Hungarian "exceptional standard of living" is dropping likewise. Whenever the economic situation worsens, political control is stronger.

In the aftermath of the bloody restoration (after 1956), there was a compromise between State or party and the population as well as between the State and the intelligentsia. We will let you have freedoms such as traveling, publishing, a relatively free life style in the sexual domain, and many other things. Those were not trifles. In return, you must not touch the taboos. This compromise was accepted by a large part of the population.

The opposition was powerless against this, because the majority of both the intellectuals and the workers believed that in opposing they would only be losers. If the economic situation worsens, this feeling of "having much to lose" becomes weaker. The grip is being tightened because the rulers feel that discontent is increasing. Up to now, the economic reforms have caused the differences in the living standard between the people who work in the private sector and those who work in the governmental sector to have expanded greatly in favor of the private sector.

Another point is that the immediate Polish situation is causing fear. Every system is determined by the way in which it came into power. Our system rose to power after the revolution of 1956. Very frightened people took power, people scared to death. They could not do anything else, they had to establish order, kill many people, put countless people in jail. With that they put themselves totally at the mercy of the Soviet Union. Even though Kadar is not unpopular, he could not tolerate a free press either. If one could only record here all the things which have taken place since 1956 contrary to his promises! When such frightened people are confronted again with the danger of being overthrown, then their entire past is mobilized, psychologically and politically. Then those people who have always said "look here, you have made too many concessions" take on more influence.

[Question] The "Association of Berlin Writers" has composed a resolution with which it raises a protest about the increased repression against BESZELO. What is the good of such resolutions?

[Answer] Immediately, nothing. But there is an efficacy when the people in Hungary see that a democratic organization regards freedom of the press in Hungary as important too. Perhaps it will also induce more understanding members of the government to start to think: Is it good to spoil the high reputation which Hungary has with such petty harassments? It will not have any direct effect. But indirectly perhaps it may nevertheless be useful. I can compare this only to my own life. When I was in prison, we always knew when someone had pleaded for our release, because then our treatment immediately became much worse. Then the order was always: Turn around with your nose to the wall! Yet had this pleading not taken place, I do not think that I would have been released after 4 years.

12114  
CSO: 2300/70

NEW DECREES TAKE EFFECT

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Nov 84 p 3

[Excerpts] Decree No 27/1984 takes effect today on the announced Hungarian-Austrian agreement regarding the equivalency of secondary school diplomas for college entrance; as well as Decree No 11/16 November 1984 of the Ministry of Health modifying regulations regarding narcotics, and Decree No 12/16 November 1984 regarding psychotropic drugs; and Decree No 17/1984 of the Ministry of Transportation regarding the noise-free zone around Ferihegy Airport. These statutory provisions are published in the No 49, 1984 issue of the MAGYAR KOZLONY.

In the Hungarian-Austrian agreement both parties recognize the equivalency of secondary school diplomas for college entrance purposes in universities of the other party.

The Minister of Health modifies on one hand the addendum, containing a list of Narcotics to the joint decree of the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Health No 1/12 May 1968 regarding the regulation of the production, processing and sale of narcotics, and on the other hand modifies the addendum, containing a list of psychotropic drugs, in the joint decree of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Interior No 4/24 June 1980 regarding the manufacture and sale of psychotropic drugs.

The decree of the Minister of Transportation has provisions regarding a noise-free zone for the Ferihegy International Airport at Budapest. On one hand, the decree defines the permissible degree of noise emission by individual airplanes, and on the other hand the decree provides that in order to reduce noise emissions and for the protection of the population and environment the airplanes must use noise-reducing flight technique procedures in their maneuvers on land and in the air. The addendum to the decree defines the individual noise-free zones and the permissible noise levels. The map showing the noise-free zones may be viewed at the Capital City Council, the Pest County Council, or at organizations they have designated.

6691

CSO: 2500/86

## STATISTICS PUBLISHED ABOUT LIVING CONDITIONS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Nov 84 p 5

[Article: "Living Conditions as Reflected by Statistics"]

[Text] The Central Statistical Office prepared a representative survey of developments in the population's living conditions. On the basis of the data it can be stated that the differences between the sexes are striking in the composition of sedentary employees. Less than one-fourth of the males and more than 42 percent of the females are employed in sedentary occupations. But at the same time, one out of every four males and only one out of every ten females has a managerial type position. Sexual stratification is also strongly marked among workers. There are increasingly more males among the skilled workers while women--as formerly--are semiskilled workers. Among the unskilled workers there are almost as many men as women.

All in all 7.4 percent of employees work on an unfixed schedule, that is, they set, in part, their own hours of work and choose when they will work within legal working hours. Their ratio among managers with a university degree is 28.4 percent, and among managers without a university or college degree 17.4 percent. Among manual workers only 5.4 percent work unfixed hours and among producer coop workers 7.6 percent. Sixty-nine percent of the active workers work on one shift, 11.3 percent on two shifts, 6.5 percent on three shifts or four, and the remainder work on so-called divided shifts or are permanently on night duty.

In many cases commuting to and from work takes a lot of time. Statistics regard traveling time as burdensome when one-way travel--that is, there or back, takes three-quarters of an hour. According to the data, almost 90 percent of the employees reach their place of work in less than 45 minutes. It is evident from data characterizing the housing environment that 16.9 percent of the population above the age of 15 live in settlements, 20.5 percent in family town houses; 2.1 percent in factory environs, 3.9 percent in urban suburbs, 12.3 percent in traditionally built-up [closed] housing in urban sectors, and 34.7 percent in the center of villages. A small proportion of those questioned live at a distance from the village center, in isolated farmhouses, peripheral farmhouses, various kinds of settlements or colonies.

Households are well equipped with light appliances for domestic jobs and with telecommunications means for entertainment. All in all 88.8 percent of the

families have refrigerators, 91.3 percent have washing machines, 85.5 percent have black and white television sets, 97.1 percent have a radio, and the differences are negligible according to social stratification or housing. But there are substantial differences in car ownership: among the sedentary employees 54 percent have cars, among workers 30.3 percent, among producer coop peasantry 27 percent, and among individual farmers, artisans and retailers 37.2 percent. In surveying health conditions, the statisticians could rely on the answers and subjective judgments of those questioned. Among sedentary employees, office management personnel had been most often bedridden for longer than a month, among workers the unskilled workers, and among coop workers the production managers.

The cultural data of the statistics provide food for thought. According to the survey, 2.6 percent of sedentary employees do not read a newspaper at all, 7.1 percent of the workers, 13.5 percent of the coop members, and 12.8 percent of the small producers.

6691

CS0: 2500/86

FACTS, FIGURES ABOUT CATHOLIC CHURCH

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 18 Nov 84 p 2

[Article: "What Should Be Known About the Domestic Church?" First Hungarian Catholic Almanac since 1931 appears; review presents some important statistics from the book.]

[Text] The Hungarian Catholic Almanac published in 1984 by the Saint Stephen Association is satisfying a wide-scale interest and meeting a longstanding need. The last director to include all the priests and monastics in the country appeared in 1947, and an almanac similar to the present one last appeared in 1931.

Volume one of the almanac gives data for the entire Hungarian Catholic Church, a listing of its institutions, its organizations and the directory for the diocese and the functioning monastic orders together with a sketch of their history. This will be followed by a second volume which will analyze the life today of the Hungarian Catholic Church, with its problems and its encouraging signs as of 1945.

In the beginning of the book we find data on the Holy Father, the popes of the entire Church history, the College of Cardinals and the Curia at Rome. This is followed by an introduction of the national institutions and precise data on the Hungarian Cardinal Primate, the Bench of Bishops and its committees and councils. In the following long section we are given information on every diocese individually: the diocese bodies (chapter, papal senate, and so forth), committees, institutes, and by deanery districts the parishes and priests in alphabetical order.

In the 11 diocese of our country there are about 6½ million Catholics, 2,330 parishes, rectorates, and church management offices. Among the 3,128 priests, 2,517 are active, and there are 367 parishes or rectorates without a priest. There are 237 novices.

Following data on the Hungarian monastic orders and their secondary schools, a long section of the volume is devoted to the history of the diocese and monastic orders that are operating at present.

In the appendix we find a directory of Hungarian Catholic priests and monastics living abroad.

The large, 872-page volume is indispensable not only for priests, those in the service of church institutions, and for scientific institutions but can also serve well all those who desire information on the organizational structure of our church and want data.

The book also includes pictures of higher-ranking priests, cathedrals and the more important new church buildings, plus a name and place-name index. The Hungarian Catholic Almanac may be purchased for 280 forints at the bookstore of the Saint Stephen Association, Budapest, V. Kossuth Lajos u 1. udvar--1053.

6691

CSO: 2500/86

UPDATE ON YEAR'S POLITICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 84 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Wacław Stepień, deputy director of the Presidial Bureau of the Office of the Council of Ministers by Krystyna Kostrzewa: "Vigor and Persistence in All Spheres"; date and place not given]

[Text] In accordance with the principle of working with an open curtain, in early 1984 the government made available to our publication its plan entitled "Main Directions of Activity in 1984." How are the guidelines of the plan being carried out? How is the government working? A RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent discussed this topic with Wacław Stepień, deputy director of the Presidial Bureau of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

[Question] Comrade director, the year is not over yet, and it is too early to summarize the fulfillment of that plan. Nonetheless, can we discuss the results to date?

[Answer] Certainly. Apart from information routinely released to the press, the government has already published in RZECZPOSPOLITA its reports on the activities in the first two quarters. Now we can discuss the period of July through September.

[Question] This is a period of holidays, which perhaps is not conducive to work.

[Answer] By no means. Government activities do not come to a halt at any season. Moreover, as is known, a great number of events of great political and social importance occurred in the third quarter of this year. Suffice it to mention the 40th anniversary of People's Poland, which called for additional special activities on top of regular painstaking work on the implementation of the Central Annual Plan and the program of socialist renewal of the country outlined in the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and persistently carried out in our life. It was exactly on the occasion of the anniversary that the government,

among other things, presented the achievements and evaluation of the condition of our state and the guidelines for its domestic and foreign policy in the Sejm, and thus to the populace, as well as in the international forum, to foreign states. High-ranking representatives of the latter took part in our celebrations.

[Question] In that case, we may begin with our foreign policy. The common feeling is (at least one encounters this opinion very often) that Poland is at present in isolation resulting from the sanctions and restrictions imposed on its government due to the imposition of martial law and its consequences, whereas the government is not doing enough in order to overcome this isolation.

[Answer] During the period in question, the government took a considerable step toward overcoming isolation. After all, this was not the first step during the tenure of W. Jaruzelski's cabinet and the stepping up of attempts by the USA and other Western countries to isolate Poland in the international arena. Moreover, this was a period when the inefficiency of the political and economic blockade of Poland became especially apparent. This was facilitated by, among other things the celebrations of the PKWN [Polish Committee of National Liberation] anniversary. The guidelines, directions and achievements of Polish foreign policy over the 40 years and at present were presented not only inside our country, but in the world forum as well. The achievements over the 40 years of our foreign policy show its comprehensive efficiency in providing security for Poland as well as in averting the threat of war in Europe.

[Question] Would you please provide examples supporting the statement that the government counteracted isolation which is harmful to the Polish people precisely during the period in question?

[Answer] Such examples are to be found in the statements released over that time, in the documents considered and adopted, in the talks held and also in the participation of Polish representatives in important international meetings and events. Also, there are [international] visits. Many of the activities bore fruit at a later time; some still have to. For example, I would mention the visits by the minister of foreign affairs of Austria and the prime minister of Greece.

Here are several concrete actions: on 15 July, the government released a statement expressing profound concern with the decision of the Council of West European Union which affords the FRG the opportunity to develop the production of new offensive weapons without restrictions. The government declared that this violates the essence of international arrangements and agreements, including those of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which are the foundation of the present order in Europe and the security of Poland.

On 16 July, the presidium of the government discussed and accepted the main activities associated with the implementation of the final document of the Madrid session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in

Europe. Among other things, the appropriate ministers were obligated to update visa regulations for foreign journalists in order to insure their full compliance with the resolutions of the final document and also to review Polish laws, including passport issuance, the law on foreigners, regulations on marriage with foreigners and family reunification, as well as the practices in this field from the point of view of their compliance with the international obligations of Poland. This is associated with the scheduled meetings of experts from states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Ottawa in 1985 on human rights and in Bern in 1986 on interpersonal contacts.

The entire set of issues related to the activity of Poland in implementing the resolutions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was reviewed at the meeting of the presidium of the government. Also, the state of treaty obligations of the People's Republic of Poland was evaluated and "the program and directions of treaty activities of the state until 1990." This issue is closely related to the safeguarding of basic interests of the state and its citizens in the international sphere.

On 16 August, our government communicated to the U.S. Government its opinion on the proclaimed readiness of the latter to cancel certain restrictions imposed on Poland. It was stressed in the opinion that the policy of the U.S. Government toward Poland, which is prepared for cooperation with equality and friendship, is an inadmissible act of interference in the internal affairs of our state and an attempt to force on Poland solutions which run counter to the vital needs of national existence.

As far as the participation of Poland in international political events is concerned, I would mention the attendance of the government delegation at the third session of the Conference on Building Confidence and Security and Disarmament in Europe which started on 11 September in Stockholm and the UN General Assembly session which began on 17 September. The head of the delegation, Minister S. Olszowski, held several meetings during his stay in New York with among others, the secretary-general of the UN and the foreign ministers of Denmark, Italy, France and Great Britain. In September, the minister of foreign affairs paid official visits to Nicaragua and Cuba.

I would mention several of the numerous political visits to Poland in the third quarter. In July, Mrs Milka Planinc, chairwoman of the Federal Executive Council of the SFRY, and UNESCO director general Dr Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow visited Poland; in August a Kampuchean delegation with Council of Ministers Chairman Chan Si visited. In September, the minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Bohuslav Chnoupek, paid an official visit to Poland.

[Question] If my memory serves me correctly, it was exactly in the third quarter that the government adopted the "Program of Development of

Cultural and Scientific Contacts With Foreign Nations." What is the situation with regard to this issue, which is so important for the nation?

[Answer] At present, Poland has cultural and scientific cooperation agreements with 62 countries.

[Question] I think that the government has taken an equally important step in developing economic cooperation with foreign nations. This issue is of tremendous importance because of the restrictions and attempts to delay the overcoming of the crisis in our country.

[Answer] The chain of conspiracy in this matter snaps all the time. Attempts at economic blockade do not work out, because such a blockade is unfavorable for many Western countries and, most of all, because Poland develops and strengthens its cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, as well as the developing countries. In the period in question, closer contacts were established with at least 20 states.

First, I would mention our cooperation with the Soviet Union. Plenary talks on the work of coordinating Soviet and Polish plans for socioeconomic development for 1986 through 1990 and long-range plans through 1995 held in Warsaw in September were important in developing this cooperation. In the third quarter, talks between many specialized delegations were held in Warsaw and Moscow. Among other things, the fulfillment of obligations ensuing from the protocol on exchange of consumer goods in 1984 was discussed, as well as the opportunities for developing this exchange in the next year. A very favorable for Poland rye-for-wheat barter deal was finalized. Also, other meetings on the food economy were held. Among other things, the government attaches great importance to the direct cooperation of industrial enterprises with similar Soviet enterprises. Because of this, a second meeting this year of representatives of about 60 enterprises directly cooperating with their counterparts in the USSR was sponsored by the prime minister on 27 September.

In the third quarter, further advances were made in cooperation with Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Among other things, a Polish-Czechoslovak contract on cooperation in nuclear energy investment projects was signed in September. It sets the stage for implementing the Polish nuclear energy program up to the year 2000. Talks with Hungary on the long-range development of cooperation in the auto and engineering industries were held at the deputy prime minister level. The dynamic growth of mutual trade turnover of Poland and Hungary over recent years was crowned by the signing of contracts for an amount exceeding 1 billion rubles. Contracts with Hungary involved the food economy, production services and tourism.

The present condition and prospects for economic, technical and trade cooperation were discussed in September with pertinent institutions in Switzerland. Similar talks were held with Austrian delegations. At

present, Austria is an important trading partner of Poland among Western countries, ranking in the first five. Austria has come out against economic restrictions imposed on Poland

It is worthwhile to mention at least several non-European countries with which various contacts were established and bilateral economic talks were held in the third quarter. The People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Vietnam, Libya, Pakistan, Thailand, Indonesia, the Arab League, Malaysia, Egypt, Japan and China are among these states. An agreement on the program of cultural and scientific cooperation for 1985 and 1986 with the PRC was signed on 15 September. A protocol outlining avenues of cooperation in mining for the years to come was also signed.

Certainly, these are but examples. Similarly to foreign policy, regular planned activities went on in the third quarter in the sphere of foreign economic cooperation. The results of such activities are not immediately apparent.

[Question] Now let us go on to the domestic problems of our state. The decision on amnesty was the most important event...

[Answer] It came about due to the favorably evolving political and social situation in Poland. The government had reviewed this situation more than once. The stabilization of political attitudes in Poland is a result of persistent implementation by the government of the main line of the Ninth PZPR Congress, the line of understanding and reform, of socialist renewal in all spheres of life.

[Question] How was the amnesty carried out?

[Answer] From July through September, that is to say, after the Sejm adopted the law on 21 July, the amnesty was carried out in its main directions. Detailed information was given to the Sejm on 20 September by the minister of justice. In total, before 15 September, the amnesty was applied to 321,829 persons, including 1,916 perpetrators of noncriminal offenses against the state and public order and misdemeanors committed in the course of social conflicts for political motives.

[Question] However, some from among those convicted for crimes against the state or public order serving time before 22 July--some of the persons called political prisoners--have not been amnestied yet...

[Answer] Six hundred and fifty-two of the persons in question were serving time in penitentiaries or pretrial arrests. Six hundred and thirty persons were released from these institutions. Of the remaining 22 persons, 20 have been amnestied as far as noncriminal offenses are concerned, but are still serving time or are under temporary arrest because of criminal offenses not covered by the amnesty either in total

or at the present stage of criminal proceedings. The remaining two persons are suspected of committing noncriminal offenses not covered by the amnesty. I would add that conditions for returning to normal life and obtaining employment have been created for persons covered by the amnesty.

[Question] Toward the end of the second quarter, elections to people's councils were held. Their course and results showed public support for the domestic policy of the government. What does this mean as far as the work of the government in the next few months is concerned?

[Answer] It means a lot. People's councils and offices of state administration are the masters of Poland. Their work determines how and to what degree the policy of the government is implemented as well as the considerations and preferences the government should use in its work. Democratization of the country and wide participation in the government by the populace hinge on the work of people's councils. The need to develop democracy, in its turn, follows from the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The government strives to build up the authority of people's councils.

[Question] And what about [state] administration? It has been much complained about...

[Answer] This authority can only be built up by improving the level of work in all elements of administration. This issue has long been an object of ongoing concern for the government. The system of training and professional improvement of officials is being developed, the system of inspection in administration has been worked out and implemented, as well as the system of carrying out post-inspection recommendations. The service function of administration in relation to the people's councils and citizens has been expressly emphasized. These actions have been and are aimed at carrying out election programs and requests, which is closely associated with the improvement in the standard of living of the populace, with the necessity to promote social confidence and understanding.

I would mention one of the multifaceted actions aimed at improving the level of state administration: on 3 August, at the session of the Council of Ministers, Prime Minister W. Jaruzelski strongly stressed the role and tasks of state administration in fulfilling its duty to the public. The ministers and governors were obligated to circulate and implement the "Code of the Duties of State Administration Employees of the PRL" and the document entitled "Rights of Citizens and Duties of Officials in Offices of State Administration of the PRL." These documents were adopted by the prime minister on 22 July 1984. They were published in all journals. Besides, the chairman of the Council of Ministers obligated ministers and heads of central offices to introduce the duties outlined in these documents in all socialized organizational

units executing important social tasks, such as, for example, the post office, electronic communications, hospitals, health care establishments as well as others having to do directly with the customers.

I would add one more example, which is important for your journalist colleagues. In the third quarter, the press law took effect and regulations on releasing information to the press in state offices were promulgated.

[Question] What is the state of contacts with the trade unions? After all, our social security, that of employed citizens, hinges on the cooperation between the trade unions and the government. This is even more important now, because the crisis gives rise to a certain insensitivity to social issues...

[Answer] In July, the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs met with the representatives of over 100 trade union structures in attendance. The assumptions of the plan for 1985 were jointly discussed; the plan and the degree of fulfillment of recommendations by the second meeting of trade union representatives with party and government leaders were reviewed. Trade unionists had an occasion to ask many questions and to level accusations, though they always have such occasions now. There were, among others, questions about reductions in employment and price and wage issues; among other things, the extension by the government of the ban on increasing contract prices to the period of 1 August through 31 December resulted. A special decree has been adopted in the matter.

[Question] Speculation upsets the populace very much...

[Answer] Inspections aimed precisely at combating speculation picked up in the third quarter. The MO [Citizens' Militia] organs conducted three operations code-named "Market." Many charges were filed. The PIH [State Trade Inspection] carried out 7,513 inspections in July and August; the PIC [State Price Inspection] reviewed the correctness of price calculation and setting. Out of the 5,500 calculations reviewed, 3,300 were found to be irregular. As a result of PIC inspections economic units transferred to the state budget the quotas not due them which, together with the fines, amounted to more than 781 million zlotys, and reimbursed the customers for 858.7 million zlotys. Carrying out post-inspection recommendations, economic units reduced 2,287 prices over 3 months. Over the same quarter, district courts convicted 2,957 persons for crimes of speculation.

I would add that comprehensive inspections by the GIT [Main Territorial Inspection] serve to combat all kinds of improper activities, chaos, wastefulness, inappropriate treatment of the public etc. Over the period in question, two such inspections took place in Slupsk and Lomza provinces. These inspections lead to increasingly stiff sanctions, including dismissals from posts held.

[Question] What economic issues were considered by the government? I am aware that it is impossible to enumerate all the issues which just follow from the current plan fulfillment, overcoming the crisis in our country, implementing the economic reform.

[Answer] You have just answered your own question; exactly such actions in these matters were undertaken. I would, however, mention some details. On 26 July the "Report on the Process of Implementation and Results of Economic Reform in 1984," which had been adopted earlier by the Council of Ministers, was sent to the Sejm. It is apparent that the report contains thoroughly considered and reviewed analyses and assessments of various economic sectors and various aspects of managing economic processes, including an analysis and evaluation of the performance of the economic policy which has been pursued for 2 years as well as the economic reform. This, in its turn, is associated with the work on introducing the necessary modifications in the reform.

On 13 July, the Council of Ministers considered the "Draft Assumptions for the 1985 Central Plan." These assumptions are common knowledge, since they have been offered for public review. Thus, I do not feel that I must describe them. Moreover, the preliminary report on the results of public review was accepted by the presidium of the government on 17 September.

In short, the government reviewed in the third quarter the issues of the food economy, market, construction, foreign trade and production of export goods, investment, quality, small-scale production and services, inflation, and so on. As far as the results of these proceedings are concerned, I do not feel that I must describe them, since the GUS [Main Office of Statistics] recently published preliminary data on the fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks from January through September of this year.

[Question] Much of the data in that publication testifies to the positive trends in the economy and the standard of living of the populace. However, social perception somehow differs from these statistics and percentages. There is inflation and other difficulties...

[Answer] The government is aware of that. Socioeconomic progress is still too weak to be clearly felt by the entire populace. Despite our counteractions, inflation still worries us. The scope of price rises needed to offset the current income of the populace keeps dropping year after year. However, it still does not meet social expectations. So far, we have not managed to secure the equilibrium in the growth of payments and expenses, which is necessary in the period of overcoming the crisis. On the other hand, however, a certain growth of real incomes has already been registered. Over the three quarters of this year, payments were 19.9 percent higher than in the same period of last year, whereas the costs of living went up by 15.6 percent. The populace would have perceived this increase in real wages in a different market situation, if there were no need to stand in lines, stock up on items which appear and disappear, buy goods of inferior quality which are not functional and do not last, and buy from speculators. This explains why the market equilibrium, growth of production and wages and prices issues are a permanent concern of the government.

[Question] If we were to add to the activities of the government mentioned in our conversation, its achievements in the sphere of culture, education, social development and relations with the Catholic church, then the grade would be as follows: the government has been working ideally. Meanwhile... I could add quite a handful to the negative points I have timidly brought up, on the basis of public opinion. For example, it is said that not enough concern with the execution of a tremendous amount of promulgated laws and decrees is apparent; that the paper can bear anything, but little happens because of what is written on it...

[Answer] By no means am I painting a rosy picture of the work of the government. Didn't I mention the weak points? We have nothing to hide. I would add that the failure to carry out the intending housing construction is among the weaknesses. Let us switch to more general terms: 129 tasks were scheduled by the government to be taken care of in the third quarter. Over that period, the Council of Ministers met 5 times and the presidium of government 8 times. Ten draft laws were passed, 24 orders and 36 resolutions were issued, 14 decisions were made and 93 others were considered. In total, this was more than the plan called for, because such were the current needs. To be sure, much of the work involved carrying out long-range tasks. However, some of the projects are taking too long and should be completed already. The government does not conceal the fact that by the end of September it could not report the execution of 66 tasks. It is true that the issuance of executive legal acts is an essential weak point. The backlog amounts to about 100 executive acts, as a rule very important ones.

This naturally brings about the feeling that regulations and life are worlds apart. I can only ensure you that this situation is already being remedied. The proliferation of laws and orders will also be limited.

[Question] Would you care to reflect briefly on the work of the government in general in the period in question? After all, this was anniversary celebration time in Poland, a time for in-depth thinking of the populace not only on the achievements, but also on prospects...

[Answer] The future shape of Poland is coming into increasingly sharper focus; work on the preparation of the 1986-1990 plan and the long-range plan for 1995 is in progress. This shape will come about with public participation; this is certain.

Another point: despite the current and, after all, considerable difficulties, we have achieved certain progress in many spheres of social and economic life this year, such as national understanding, renewal of socioeconomic life, strengthening of law and public order. This also brings closer the Poland of the future.

Yet another point: Poland has fostered cooperation and strengthened the bonds of friendship with many peoples and states of the world. Poland is regaining the confidence and respect of its friends. The country has been successfully overcoming the attempts to impose political and economic isolation undertaken by the US and some Western states.

9761

CSO: 2600/128

POLAND

OFFICIAL CLAIMS NO PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR INTERIOR MINISTRY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 2

[Staff article by (PAP): "The Interior Ministry Is Also Accountable for its Deeds"; Statement by Sejm Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec]

[Text] The case of the abduction and murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko is still being investigated. The public has been informed of the results of the proceedings already conducted. Linked to this case are allegations that the Interior Ministry enjoys an especially privileged position and is therefore not accountable for its deeds. In the meantime, as is well known, all key administrative agencies, including the government as a whole and individual ministers, are under the supervision of the Sejm. Currently, it is the Sejm's commissions which are reviewing the Popieluszko case. A journalist of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY asked the chairman of the Commission for Internal Affairs and Justice Administration, Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec, for a statement on the Popieluszko case.

[Begin Surowiec Statement] Essentially, our commission exercises jurisdiction over seven ministries, including the Interior Ministry; none of these enjoys any preferential treatment. The Interior Ministry is regarded as just another ministry. What is more, with issues of particular social significance our supervision could even be properly called extremely sharp.

This is simply the results of the tasks dealt with by the Ministry and the great responsibility associated with its services. After all, it is the Interior Ministry which ensures the internal safety of the state and its law and order; it fights against criminality, preserves the peace and safety of our citizens and protects their lives, health and possessions. It safeguards public property. At the same time, this ministry is struggling with many difficulties: shortages of people and material resources, and an inadequacy of space. The conditions of everyday service are often very strenuous.

During its current term of office, our commission has repeatedly reviewed at its sessions the Interior Ministry's operational problems.

Sejm deputies have familiarized themselves with the actions undertaken to maintain law and order in our country; representatives of the Interior Ministry's leadership have continued to inform us extensively of the current missions of the ministry and their status to date. Among the subjects discussed thoroughly were those dealing with the safeguarding of flights and the steps undertaken to combat acts of air piracy in passenger air travel.

The next substantive problem faced is how to combat waste and mismanagement, even though the Interior Ministry has scored significant successes in this area. This also covers antispeculation operations.

We also reviewed the current status of the country's fire-fighting protection, inasmuch as the Interior Ministry supervises fire-fighting services. Additionally, the ministry's excesses were evaluated.

A great deal of attention was focused on passport regulations within the country. We utilized in this discussion the many recommendations and suggestions made known by citizens writing on this issue to the Sejm or directly to the commission.

We evaluated the service conditions and personnel situation in the Border Troops.

Before these problems began to be part of the daily agenda of the commission's sessions, Sejm teams and subcommittees were appointed which familiarized themselves with the situation firsthand by visiting the units or offices in the field. Based on the instructions of the commission, inspections of the area in review were simultaneously organized by the Supreme Chamber of Control.

Annually considering the state's projected budget as it pertains to the Interior Ministry, as well as the final figures with regard to the budget spent by the ministry, the commission utilizes this opportunity to discuss the problems of the ministry's ongoing operations. These problems vary. Many of them are heatedly debated in the commission. Our deputies ask about detailed items associated even with resource management, and how the ministry utilizes allocated funds for special operations. The deputies provide examples and then require explanations. It is worth mentioning here that the funds which we are speaking of are utilized faultlessly.

As a result of our proceedings, the commission deals with desiderata or various issues and then refers them to the chairman of the Council of Ministers or other interested ministers, including, of course, the interior minister himself. During this term of office, we resolve 6 desiderata and 11 other issues.

In this "issue resolution," the Interior Ministry undisputably occupies first place. This proves distinctly that the supervision we are talking about is very thorough. It is also effective. This is proved by the objective and rapid reaction of the Interior Ministry's leadership to the commission's resolutions. Many issues are also explained during a session's discussion period.

The Commission for Internal Affairs and Justice Administration participates actively, of course, in any legislative activity associated with Interior Ministry operations. Suffice it to say that during the current term of office we discussed at many sessions projected laws of a basically legal nature, as well as an act dealing primarily with the office of the minister of internal affairs and the scope of the actions of those agencies subordinated to him. The act on the office of the minister of internal affairs was passed by the Sejm in July of this year, but before it became effective, we thoroughly discussed the scope of the ministry's activities and its remaining funds; methods and ways of executing its missions were set down in writing.

Similar things were done with regard to the law amending passport regulations in the direction of their further liberalization.

We also discussed the draft of a bill dealing with the safeguarding of state and service secrets. Overall, there were six such bills. Our commissions familiarized themselves simultaneously with many drafts which were turned into laws.

Representatives of the key leadership of the Interior Ministry have always participated in our commission's sessions. Our deputies have had direct access to reliable sources of information.

This was also the case on 6 November, when Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak informed the commission of the course and results of the investigation dealing with the kidnapping and death of Father Popieluszko. It was extensive information; additionally, our deputies asked very detailed questions. The answers they received were comprehensive. This particular case remains, as before, high on our commission's list of priorities.

I would like, however, to point out that we have specific actions, planned beforehand, which we undertake to ensure parliamentary supervision over the Interior Ministry's operations. In the near future, the commission will evaluate personnel policies within this ministry and familiarize itself with the programs and instructional procedures for the ministry's active-duty personnel. We will see how the act on the office of the minister of the internal affairs has been applied. An evaluation of the implementation of the law covering the safeguarding of state and service secrets will be placed on the daily agenda of the commission's sessions. Once again, the representatives will visit individual offices of the ministry in person. Their perceptions, recommendations and proposals will take up considerable time in the parliamentary debates during the commission's sessions.

I have described only the most important elements in the Sejm's comprehensive supervision of the Interior Ministry's operations. These methods and forms of supervision are always being improved and the scope of their control constantly expanded. And this is the trend across the board. At the same time, we are aware of the fact that the Interior Ministry, by virtue of its particular missions and operation--both political and social--has been, is, and will continue to be the target of political opponents and the enemies of socialism. They have tried (and recently at that) and will continue

to try to attack this ministry. Under such conditions, demands to enact some sort of extraordinary control measures which, simply put, seek to reduce the Interior Ministry's authority, along with attempts to appoint illegal organizations, result in a weakening of the state and are an element in the political struggle. A decisive majority of society, aware of these threats, understands this treacherous game.

12247

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CONTROVERSY ABOUT ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA CONTINUES

Middle-of-Road Approach

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 39, 29 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Chlopecki: "Everything Is the Fault of the Nobility"]

[Text] St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski's article "Co Sie Komu Nalezy" [What Belongs to Whom] (issue No 35 of POLITYKA) has evoked a wide response among our readers. In the last issue (POLITYKA, No 38) we published the first group of letters that take issue with the author. Below are more statements on this subject.

I was very pleased with St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski's article (POLITYKA, No 35). I have worked with him on some of his projects and in this way have had ties with the Public Opinion Research Center he heads. I have much respect and sympathy for the man himself, which I hope is mutual. At the same time, I disagree with many of the statements made in the article. Then why was I pleased? There is no dearth of polemics in Poland, whose purpose is to discredit an opponent, in which the opponent is first accused of having ill intentions and being underhanded and then he is "evaluated." Meanwhile, his arguments are ignored. There is, however, a shortage of polemics in which the opposing arguments are subordinated on both sides to an unquestionable harmony of intentions. Thus, I was pleased that his argumentation is totally substantive.

Face to Face

The author is disturbed by the fact that the "intelligentchiks bear a grudge" against workers, but he mitigates this by saying that the workers do not yield to anti-intelligentsia phobias. Suspecting them of such tendencies is another "intelligentchik" invention. I do not like such stylistics; nor do I share the belief that there are "anti" tendencies on the one side and that they do not exist on the other. It can be demonstrated that they exist on both sides, just as there are antipeasant attitudes on both sides.

I doubt that anyone is in a position to determine the level and intensity of intergroup tensions in Poland. It is a fact that they have arisen, probably

for the first time in our postwar history. Were they engendered by the crisis? I think that it was not so much the crisis that engendered them as the path we chose to overcome the crisis.

During our postwar history, all potential intergroup tensions were de-fused by the national government. Even in the early 1950's, during the period of the forced industrialization of Poland, for which the capital stock formation stream was drawn largely from rural areas, the peasant did not curse the worker. He cursed the government, those "at the top." The belief of the social consciousness that the national government decides everything, even if this is not always true in reality, leads to the characteristic moderation of intergroup social relations. Even in periods when the bureaucracy was to blame for everything that was wrong, no anti-official attitudes were evident in Poland and there was no need to explain that the concept of bureaucracy is not to be identified with the ordinary clerical worker. Anti-intelligentsia and antipeasant tendencies were observed only in the policy of the authorities and not in the attitudes of society. In order to avoid misunderstanding, it also should be added that the national government need not mean "those from Warsaw," since in the model of the dichotomous, polarized world there is always some central headquarters, some THEY identified by their opposition to US. This simplistic notion became exaggerated and was at its best during the post-August period. Such a picture of society continues until now, but gradually another picture is being superimposed on it, one that is more complex and closer to the reality of a pluralistic society. Certainly, there are many reasons for the appearance of this second picture, but two seem basic.

First, most of society has withdrawn from involvement and even interest in politics. Today people are primarily interested in essential, economic, everyday matters. Second, the economic reform that is underway ennobles individual and group resourcefulness and enterprise, if timidly and inconsistently. Interest in how others are managing may lead to envy, even of an aggressive type. Moreover, it is not always a question of simple and reprehensible envy. At a recent meeting of trade unionists from the engineering industries, the privileges of metals industry workers were sharply criticized. The privileged status of this subbranch group seemed to the unionists from other subbranches to be not only excessive when compared with their own situation but also largely unwarranted in terms of the production results of the metals industry that are restricting the production potential of their own enterprises. In any case, it should be added that it was not the intelligentsia here that accused workers of having special privileges, but the workers of one subbranch that accused the workers of another subbranch.

Under a relatively decentralized economy in which the majority of economic choices are made in the marketplace and not in the office chambers of the political arena, the role of lateral ties is growing. This differs from the situation existing formerly in which only or primarily the importance of vertical ties grew. These interdependencies are always changing; sometimes they are bonds and sometimes conflicts. They take on their own distinct nature and cease being clouded over by the central power that is losing its omnipotence. To put it figuratively, the various social groups that formerly

looked at their reflections in the central mirror of authority, now stand face to face.

Reactions to the suddenly noticed complexity of the social world vary. In contrast to current opinions, I am inclined to say that these reactions make a somewhat positive statement about our society. Even extreme pro-equality views are manifesting themselves less and less impassionately and universally than may be expected given the fact that they are also provoked by the administration and the leaders of many state enterprises. At the same time, however, it is no wonder that in the period of changes that require deep revaluations (including revaluations in the sphere of the consciousness), "anti-intelligentsia," "antiworker" and "antipeasant" tendencies arise. But do they have the class character that St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski seems to attribute to them in his article?

#### Microscope and Telescope

In the jungle of conflicting opinions defining the position of one's group versus the others, class differences play only a sporadic and exceptional role. We are dealing rather with the secondary lending of a class accent to the various real views that are circulating.

Let me use an example. It is true that at the meetings of the workforces of state enterprises, one often hears that small private, cooperative and Polonia-type firms "buy" employees. It is also a fact that many of the management heads of these enterprises are campaigning for administrative decisions that would put an end to this competition, maintaining that the working class demand this. But has anyone heard the workers (as workers) coming out against this type of competition? If it really exists, it can only help to improve their wage and work conditions.

In the press and on radio and television, as well as in official addresses, today the category "working class" is overused. The working class demands that speculation be battled, that the freedom of price-setting be curtailed and that the penal policy be made stiffer and the like. This abuse of class categories in no way makes things better for workers. Moreover, most often they are no so much the views of workers as the views of a group. In order to hold a viewpoint that is really one of the class, the worker often must reject the arguments of the parochial group interests that integrate him with his plant, his subbranch and his occupational group, arguments he makes use of every day.

Today the working class is much more differentiated than it was when the Marxist classics were written. Its various groups can and do have different, sometimes opposing interests; the worker himself performs various social roles. Thus, giving a "class stamp" to many of the opinions expressed on various occasions by workers often is a mistake.

St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski writes: "one must decide whose side he is on, he must stop and think before he begins to think of the 'privileged' status of workers as a bad thing, especially if it is a member of the party intelligentsia

that is writing." Clearly, the claim that some occupational group makes less than another and that the opposite should be the case still does not mean that the situation is bad; none of the quotes cited by the writer, with which he polemicizes, entitle one to come to this conclusion. But whose side is one to take, when the machinists say that the privileges of metalworkers are excessive? St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski is indignant at a certain professor that says it is not right that an employee of a scientific institution makes much less than a machinist. And if the former is also a welder and does unique, precision work that the latter (and this often happens) could not even manage to do, what of it? Is it not better to think things through than to use stereotypes and say that if a welder is a machinist, he is from the working class and if he is from an institute, he is of doubtful origin?

#### Worthy Titles but Scandalous Salaries

St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski writes that if the intelligentsia is envious of the earnings of workers, let them stand at the machines themselves. This is already happening and it is no cause for rejoicing. Such policy and practice in no way helps workers to work better or makes their workload lighter or easier. A worker can and should reap the benefits of the engineer's work. But he will do so only when the latter will work in his rightful position, according to his training.

I do not have the slightest doubt that Kwiatkowski's article will be looked at by many readers as an attack on the intelligentsia. Meanwhile, in my opinion, it is a typical intelligentsia-type article. An appreciable portion of our literature and journalism is under the sign of Judym and Silaczka, of breastbeating over the failures of public servants and of appeals for solidarity with the fate of the working underprivileged classes and for experiencing their labor and toil. This literature has created a special type of ethos of the Polish intelligentsia, or at least of a large part of it. At one time this was understandable and warranted historically. Today, however, we have our own state and a native and, by all accounts, a developed industry. There are more effective ways of implementing the cultural and civilizational advancement of underprivileged communities than through the idea that the intelligentsia should carry the torch of learning to working people and experience the work of those that bear shovels, although there are surely many values from these models that would be worth remembering. Unfortunately, past models and values are slipping into oblivion and the new ones do not fill us with optimism.

One may view the question of education and knowledge in various ways--intrinsically or instrumentally. In the first instance, education is the "profit" made by the individual that has acquired it; in the second, it is the qualitative mark of the work done by him. Under normal, health conditions, more highly qualified work of better quality is paid better. There may be and always are exceptions from this rule for work that, although simple, is extremely hard, exhausting, dangerous or merely unpleasant. But these are the exceptions and not the rule. Kwiatkowski's idea of reversing this rule is threatening and dangerous to everyone, workers included.

The worker makes products that materialize the ideas of the scholar, the concept of the designer. That is why organization in a factory must focus on the fullest possible use of work time and of the production capabilities of the work and not on the convenience of the administration--from plants up through ministries--as is the case with us. I believe that here I am in complete agreement with Kwiatkowski. We also agree in our basic intent--to more fully liberate, civilize and humanize the work of the worker. I assume that our concern over the progress of this work is mutual. Is this possible, however, without an enormous intellectual work base?

In the context of the argument over how to pay for intellectual work, St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski writes of "the gentleman's aversion to enterprise" and of young women holding "a small secondary school certificate" that consider themselves superior to people that do physical work. While there is some truth to all of this, there was a time in Poland when incentives on behalf of enterprise were rooted out more effectively and consistently than in the era of the nobility, although at that time either bad things or nothing at all was written about the nobility. Meanwhile, its peasant daughters most readily succumbed to this disdain, becoming civil servants in the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative], as did the daughters of workers that worked in office buildings. It is hard to say how much this was the impact of the negative traits of the Polish intelligentsia and how much it was conforming with the spirit and mood of the GS bureaucracy and other bureaucracies in an otherwise people's state. The worries about the low state of white-collar work in Poland were never their worries. This part of the intelligentsia, most often from the first generation, did not believe that its status was low. On the contrary, consumed by its sense of "nobility," it was inclined to feel that its status was high. But this is another subject entirely.

#### Readers Respond

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 39, 29 Sep 84 p 3

[Letters to the editor of POLITYKA by: Tadeusz Zielinski (Warsaw), Romuald Kraska (Pila), Tomasz Aleksandrowicz (Warsaw) and Anna Tatarkiewicz (Warsaw)]

[Text] Nothing Has Changed

St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski's article published in POLITYKA No 35 does not show his criticism of the claims of the intelligentsia to be any more original than that of hundreds of other journalists. I remember articles full of the same arguments published in KUZNICA in the 1950's. The same direction of thinking was popular after March 1968.

The author perceives a clear link between the increasing demands for improving the material circumstances of the intelligentsia and its condescending attitude to the working class, the vestiges of a nobility mentality and the manifestation of scorn for physical work. But this awful hydra lives and its head continues to grow! Forty years of uninterrupted social education have come to naught and the fact that, in an enormous part of the intelligentsia, Poland has testimonials today of its worker-peasant heritage has not rooted out old habits and prejudices.

Most of all I find it hard to understand why Kwiatkowski is ironic about the prewar secondary school certificate. Personally I wish that all high schools today could ensure the level of teaching that the prewar high schools and liberal arts high schools guaranteed. As for scorning physical work, let us cease calling up the ghosts of the deceased and let us not blow off steam at the walking antiques we see from time to time at milk bars eating their pensioner's milk soup or in homes for the elderly (...) Another thing. Has Kwiatkowski never seen a show of superiority by a worker with qualifications before another worker with no qualifications? I am 60 years old and more than once I have seen the former look upon the latter as if he saw before him nothing but air. Unfortunately, these are facts and that is why I cannot agree that one is to see only the class aspect in this entire issue and not mere human weaknesses and traits that appear in every milieu.

In some portions of his argument, Kwiatkowski charges the intelligentsia with being corruptible, with wheedling for packages from the West and with rendering various services there only if it is profitable. He speaks of this as though he has never seen a queue for Western visas or a line of people waiting for parcels at the customs office and as though he has no idea of the social makeup there. He offers no proof for what he says, maintaining that there is no decline of interest in studies but, on the contrary, "there are still many candidates for each position," and continues, bypassing the often noted decline of students entering higher schools (also reported in POLITYKA).

Illustrating the difficult working conditions and paltry wages of the worker, he plays upon the certainly true but not at all representative example of a railroad worker from Wrzesnia, a transport worker employed in that sector of the economy in which the level of labor mechanization is especially low and the wage level has lagged behind that of the other sectors for years because of carelessness in capital spending.

Tadeusz Zielinski, Warsaw

#### Let Us Create Competition

St[anislaw] Kwiatkowski understands that scholarly workers earn too little. However, he cannot and does not wish to agree that they should earn more than workers. If they wish to make more, let them earn money doing physical work-- it will be no loss to scholarship. Perhaps not. I only wonder whether Docent Kwiatkowski thinks it is right for doctors and docents to do physical work instead of scholarly work? Does he think that in exchange for this, workers will do scholarly work in overtime when it becomes necessary? We apparently have too many engineers and too few cleaning ladies. But should we conclude from this that engineers should be given low wages and cleaning ladies should get bonuses? I have a different proposition: let us pay engineers well, but not all of them; the best ones and not every polytechnical graduate ought to become engineers. If we have something from which to choose, let us generate competition. Let engineering work become attractive financially, so that it becomes competitive, so that people struggle to get in and raise their qualifications, knowledge and skill.

Romuald Kraska, Pila

## The Beggar and the Shirker

Socialism does not consist of worker issues alone, as Docent Kwiatkowski maintains. The intelligentsia also built socialism and continues to do so, not as particular individuals but as a social stratum. It would be foolish to deny that this does not apply to all the intelligentsia. However, the entire working class does not perceive its own class interests in the implementation of the assumptions of the socialist state and system. The place and role of the intelligentsia in the socialist society is a very important topic not to be dismissed with the statement that the "intelligentchiks" make less than workers and, consequently, are making noise. This is particularly so because, fortunately, not everyone that we count among the intelligentsia has entered it via the path indicated by Docent Kwiatkowski, i.e., by rejecting hard physical labor in favor of clean work in an office or laboratory that does not give one varicose veins or blisters on one's hands.

No one takes the privileges of workers amiss. In my opinion, those that Docent Kwiatkowski quotes are protesting the underprivileged status of the intelligentsia. This is a very shortsighted policy whose effects we will overcome after a number of years. The technological gap and the discussion of its causes are no laughing matter. It is enough to question a few engineers about it or to read a few articles carefully. Nowhere is it stated that socialism is the system of equality for the poor; on the contrary, it creates most fully opportunities for individual advancement and enables the effective implementation of one's skills on behalf of the entire society. Of course, we are still a long way off from the full implementation of these lofty assumptions, but we cannot move backwards to realize them. Somehow, no one expects "awareness itself to be enough" for workers; why then expect this from the intelligentsia? High labor productivity is expected from the worker, for which he is paid a high salary. Members of the intelligentsia are expected to pursue "progress in civilization, technology and culture that is disappearing around the corner" (KTT [Kwiatkowski], POLITYKA, No 35), but the salaries are miserable. Something is wrong here. While it is true that the intelligentsia serves the working class, it must have the proper conditions to enable it to perform this role properly and effectively.

Tomasz Aleksandrowicz, Warsaw

### Who Is Paid for What?

The real discussion about the Polish intelligentsia has not begun in earnest, nor will it begin until we start talking openly about the deep-seated antagonism that separates the "salon" intelligentsia from the intelligentsia that has come "from behind the barn." It is not I who have invented the latter phrase: it is going the rounds in Warsaw sociologist circles. Until these touchy issues come out in the open, the entire discussion on the intelligentsia will have an underpinning of resentment, complexes, claims from both sides and Freud knows what else. Either that or things will explode, as they did recently in TWORCZOSC in Redlinski's philippic against pani Z. This article offended some and amused others, while it troubled still others, for it shows how ingrained are the lists of wrongs, ostensibly balanced out. "My self-image

colors my perceptions," and that is why I write about the subject, for I hail both from the salon and from behind the barn.

Having said what [as published], I would like to venture into an area that is foreign to me--economics, to determine how the various categories of workers, including the "intelligentsia," earn their wages. I place this word in quotation marks because it is essentially a relic from the times when Poland was inhabited by the illiterate masses, when it was enough to be able to read, write and be an altar boy to be considered a member of the intelligentsia. Today this term is anachronistic, for what links the secretary who is a sex object, even if she has a diploma, with a certain Professor Kolos, the most often quoted Polish physicist abroad? The classic secretary is paid for being charming and flirting with the boss, but a real secretary is paid for a whole series of qualities rarely seen, such as conscientiousness, a good memory, an organizational sense, a sense of diplomacy and, of course, the ability to make excellent coffee.

Everyone more or less agrees that the principle of wages commensurate with work done ought to apply. Personally, I have nothing against compensating difficult or repulsive physical labor (or semi-physical labor on various machinery) the same as, or even better than, certain kinds of mental work. However, the criteria regarding "physical" labor are simpler than those used for "mental" work, simpler because the results are more visible. Each group of "mental workers," meanwhile, is paid, or at least should be paid, for a variety of qualities that are difficult to measure. The only common denominator here is a certain sum of knowledge and time devoted to acquire the related knowledge and skills. But beyond that?

Scholars should be paid primarily for intellectual ingenuity. A teacher should be paid for his teaching-pedagogical talent and for his moral values, broadly conceived. A doctor should be paid for his intuition in diagnosis and treatment as well as for his humanitarian attitude to patients. A manager should be paid for his "managerial" capabilities and for his prosocial attitude and the like.

These are not simple issues; it would be worthwhile to discuss them.

Anna Tatarkiewicz, Warsaw

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## OBJECTIVES OF RELATIONS WITH FRG REVIEWED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 84 pp 168-182

[Article by Mieczyslaw Tomala: "The Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany Toward Poland"]

[Text] A sea of ink has already been written on this subject but it continues to be important because the German Federal Republic's policy toward Poland is beginning to take forms that compel Poland as a state and the Poles as a society to again express their concern for the development of the normalization process. At the time of its signing in Warsaw on 7 December 1970, the Treaty for Normalization of Relations between Poland and West Germany seemed to be a lasting pillar not only in mutual relations between the two countries but also a constructive contribution to the building of a system of European security and cooperation. In its concrete political actions, Poland has given expression to this hope for many years. After all, the proposal known as the Rapacki Plan (1958) had as its purpose the reduction of tensions by banning nuclear weapons and considerably reducing conventional weapons in the two Germanies, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This proposal was again made in the Gomulka Plan of 1964. Polish foreign policy has stubbornly struggled for the preservation of all existing national borders in Europe and full recognition of the second German state. A look at the numerous speeches of Wladyslaw Gomulka dedicated to international problems is enough to see how far-sightedly and consistently this Polish leader acted on behalf of peace in Europe. It is thanks to this stubbornness policy alone that it became possible to formally normalize relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and initiate profitable cooperation between the states of the European continent. We saw this treaty as a dynamic element that would liberate the forces that saw an urgent need for normalization and the growth of mutually-beneficial relations. This at least was how Polish public opinion wished to see the treaty and the spirit in which the Polish people worked to realize the letter and spirit of the pact. This mood found a significant partner in some of the important political forces in the German Federal Republic. In spite of the difficulties they faced in their own society, fed for so many years on the mirages of reunification and recovery of the "lost eastern territories", these constructive forces were able to bring West Germany's foreign policy toward Poland onto a more realistic path. This difficult process was not free of its own inconsistencies or even steps backward. However, would it really be

so easy to put the hinder the course of history which an entire generation of Germans had experienced?

In the social-liberal coalition that governed West Germany from 1969 to 1982, several currents in that country's attitude toward Poland could be observed. We therefore had to deal with the treaty policy, the unquestioned recognition of Poland's western borders on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse rivers. Statements by chancellors W. Brandt and H. Schmidt contained none of the elements that could be found in the speeches of former chancellors such as G. Kiesinger and L. Erhard, not to mention K. Adenauer. Many social organizations in the FRG stood for unconditional recognition of Poland's western borders and repudiated all Bundestag resolution that they felt were against the letter and spirit of the treaty. Proof of this attitude may be found in the policy taken by the German-Polish Association, the resolutions of numerous provincial SPD organizations and of all persons and social groups who placed greater value on national responsibility in relations with Poland above all casual politicizing. This was the second line of German policy.

Despite the fact that West Germany's governing parties were in agreement on the realization of what they said were their basic goal, the reconstruction of a divided people into something that could be called a united nation, under the baton of the political and social system which was formed in the western territories of Germany, it must be pointed out that these governments were aware of the fact that they had no allies to support them in this goal. Meanwhile, efforts were being made to normalize relations with the socialist countries. It must be said that the possibility to come closer to the realization of the FRG's strategic goal also depended on the socialist countries themselves. West Germany set its available economic and financial power into motion for this purpose.

However, during the years of the social-liberal coalition, the Federal Constitutional Tribunal passed many resolutions and decrees on the West German borders which had a direct effect on that country's relations with Poland because, as we know, the border changes made by the Potsdam Agreement concerned above all the territories that were reclaimed by the USSR and Poland or the Soviet zones of occupation that were to become the German Democratic Republic in 1949. Thus, the pronouncements of the West German court had a direct effect on relations with these two countries and Poland in particular. Regardless of the social-liberal attitude toward them, these resolutions were respected but it must be pointed out that they were never very widely proclaimed. During the period of the social-liberal governments, there was also a third line, that of the Christian Democratic opposition, which opposed nearly every step forward made in the Bonn-Warsaw relationship even those advantageous to West Germany itself. However, that which was called for was really only a return to Adenauer's policy, a rejection of the territorial status quo in Europe.

The downfall of the Schmidt government in October 1982 did not initially herald any changes in the West German government's relations to Poland although more perceptive observers knew that if the Christian Democratic coalition is remained true to character, it would be hard for Poland and the other socialist countries to continue the policies taken during the previous two

social democratic administrations despite the fact that in its first two months of power, the new Bonn government frequently and willingly used the word continuation, with reference to normalization. On 20 September 1982, a commentator from DIE WELT who supported the Christian Democratic policy sharply criticized detente and the Ostpolitik of W. Brandt and H. Schmidt and took special aim at West Germany's treaties with Poland and the other socialist countries. In that author's opinion, these treaties did not in any way reflect final recognition of existing borders in Europe. Leaving office, Helmut Schmidt in his last speech before the Bundestag spoke the following words: "Our eastern treaties must not only be preserved but also put into practice and further expanded. Mindful of the rise and fall of the last thousand years of history, my predecessor Willy Brandt followed by myself began a new start in German-Polish relations. These relations should continue to demand sincere, unceasing solutions".

In his first speech to the Bundestag as the new chancellor, Helmut Kohl spoke about Poland: "I am certain that the German federal government and the majority of our fellow citizens in the FRG are watching events in Poland with great concern and interest. Our feeling of interest and compassion for the fate of our Polish neighbors is obvious. The policy of understanding has brought us good and beautiful fruit...". This could be construed as the will to continue the preceding government's Polish policy. Chancellor Kohl has repeatedly emphasized that the concluded treaties are a *pacta sunt servanda*, in other words, that he will continue to honor them and fill them with living substance. These utterances therefore conflict with the attitudes taken by the CDU when it formed the opposition party in the Bundestag. As the events of later months showed, however, these words were only a tactical move. It now seems that the first few months of the Christian Democratic government were no more than a period in which a new attitude to Poland was being formed. At this time, there was no talk of principles but of the tactics that would be used in relations with Poland.

The first signal the hardheads were beginning to speak up was a speech by the new government's minister of internal affairs, F. Zimmermann. For his anti-Polish speech, Zimmermann chose Munich and the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's rise to power. This may have been a coincidence, however, it is certain that his words did fit the time and place in which they were spoken. He stated that the 1970 treaty between Poland, the USSR, the other socialist countries and the FRG to normalize relations were by nature only a provisional *modus vivendi* and that the borders established bilaterally in the Potsdam Agreement and accepted in the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation are temporary and not definite. He added that any unification of the two Germanies would cover the 1937 borders of the German Reich. Zimmermann spoke out against restricting the "German question" solely to the territories of East and West Germany and said that he was opposed to excluding the territories east of the Oder and Neisse from any discussion of that problem.

Minister F. Zimmermann's speech signalled a start for the reassertion of cold war and revanchist forces in the FRG, especially those within the ranks of the Christian Democrats. At the same time, part of the West German press and political figures, especially within the social democratic parties, saw these

words as the provocation or antic of an irresponsible minister. The truth of the matter, unfortunately, can be found elsewhere. As we learned in later months from the speeches of other ministers of the Kohl government and Christian Democratic politicians, we would now have to deal with a new West German policy toward Poland. Despite the fact that the Polish government lodged a formal protest to the West German government over these speeches and other such utterances questioning the territorial and political status quo in Europe which had already been confirmed in bilateral agreements concluded between the FRG and the socialist countries and the Final Act of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation, Bonn did not react as should a sincere partner of the Treaty for Normalization of Relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. Just the opposite, Chancellor Kohl officially and openly stated that he had no intention of dismissing Minister Zimmermann for his statements on the so-called German question and the borders. Indeed, Chancellor Kohl assured that he had no intention of revising the treaty with Poland (as if this treaty could be revised!) but again made reference to the Bundestag resolution of 17 May 1972 which stated that the above treaty was not a final settlement of borders.

The Christian Democrats came to power after martial law was declared in Poland. During the first few months of the Polish crisis, the West German CDU, then still the opposition party, let itself be known as the most aggressive political group in that country by demanding the harshest political and economic sanctions against our country. Certain West German politicians felt that the weakening of Poland should be a good opportunity for that country to put pressure on our country to accept its old demands. The campaign to send food and clothing packets, in which the Christian Democrats wanted to take part, was to fulfill other intentions than the helpful ones of the average West German citizen which was to help the Poles whose fortunes were being portrayed very glaringly by the mass media. This image portrayed of events in Poland was, however, necessary to arouse pity for our country but also aimed to show that a socialist government was not able even in part to provide its citizens with those things that the citizens of West Germany have in overabundance.

The Christian Democrats' demands that were taking form began to have very retrogressive and anti-detente nature. They were, therefore, demands to change the European status quo and revise the Yalta and Potsdam decrees. Among these should be included the demands made to confer special rights to a so-called German minority living in Poland. When it took power in the autumn of 1982, the CDU was able to transform the program of the former opposition into government policy. We then became witnesses to new accents and elements in West Germany's foreign policy and Ostpolitik that would directly or indirectly affect its relations with Poland.

As we know, Article 1 of the 7 December 1970 treaty states that both parties, i.e. Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany, "will uphold the inviolability of their existing borders now and in the future and are mutually obliged to mutually respect each other's territorial integrity". Point 3 states that "They declare that they have no territorial claims on each other and that no such claims will be made in the future". Such clear and unambiguous wording is seldom found in international treaties. On the other hand, the FRG claims that

the Bundestag in its 17 May 1972 resolution announced that the problem of final settlement of the border problem remains open. It must therefore be pointed out that the 7 December 1970 treaty was concluded in good faith, that one partner may not try to cheat the other. Wladyslaw Gomulka's 16 May 1969 speech proposed to the FRG the same treaty confirming the existing Polish-German borders on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse that was signed between Poland and the German Democratic Republic in 1950. The West Germans were therefore well aware of why they were invited for talks with Poland. It was known that West Germany's recognition of Poland's western borders was the key point for further normalization of relations in Europe. Without West Germany's recognition of these borders, such a treaty of such importance for West Germany and European security and cooperation could not have come into being. However, the government of the FRG has usurped its position to speak in the name of the German Reich in its 1937 borders and this has been the cause of so many new controversies in Polish-German relations. One might ask who authorized the West German government to represent the German Reich which no longer exists and whose territory has already given rise to two separate German states. Attempts are presently being made to bring into discussion borders that were never recognized as final by the Weimar Republic. Let us simply recall the 1925 Locarno Treaty in which the German Reich reserved the right to revise the then-existing Polish-German borders.

The aggressive presentation of this problem by such a state as the Federal Republic of Germany which has such a strong influence on its western allies carries a clear and definite element of danger. This may lead to efforts to undermine the territorial status quo in Europe while demands to restore the German Reich within its 1937 borders may be nothing more than a starting point for further steps. The speech made by F. Zimmermann to the Congress of Compatriot Sudeten Germans on 9 June 1984 in Munich at which he said "the Sudetenland and Bavaria are also an important part of the German nation and they share a common language and culture and a common fatherland" seems to have been more than mere wailing. Perhaps we will yet hear more such dementia which will rant about nothing. The West German government is providing poor service to its people when it dictates that a special line be drawn in all maps and atlases to denote the old 1937 borders. They have already given it the name of "Perlenkette" [string of pearls], but a more appropriate name for this would be string of thorns because it really is a thorn in the side of normalization of relations between West Germany and Poland. It is also strange that the West Germans are presently trying to undermine those points of the treaty that are the least disputable. Meanwhile, marked dissatisfaction is expressed whenever West Germany is reminded of its noncompliance in the realization of the resolutions of the long-term economic agreement concluded on 15 October 1970 when the Polish partner demanded concrete realization of the cultural agreement of 11 June 1976 or the recommendations of the Textbook Commission which were accepted by the scholars of both nations and their implementation in all West German schools. This is only a part of the matters to which were attached such great hopes and which are presently being sidetracked in the normalization process. In international relations, there must be equality among partners and whichever side forgets that is not strengthening the trust which is so needed in today's world and especially in relations between Poland and the FRG. After its electoral victory in March 1983, the restored CDU-liberal coalition

renewed its efforts to accentuate so-called German affairs, in other words, the reunification of Germany or the liquidation of the GDR and to persist in claiming that the German Reich exists within its 1937 borders. An effort is being made to subordinate to these two themes all treaties and actions taken by Helmut Kohl's government. In order to avoid creating misunderstandings and illusions, this is an open attempt to call into question the consequences of the unconditional capitulation of the Third Reich and the present map of Europe. However, in a speech outlining his program to the Bundestag, Helmut Kohl said in reference to Polish relations: "The fate of the Polish people is not a matter of indifference to us. We want for the Polish people to reach a national agreement and overcome the present crisis. We want reconciliation and understanding with Poland. The treaties that we have concluded are valid. We will use them to shape our relations". Thus, these were words and opinions which let us assume that sanity had returned to the Rhine. Unfortunately, only the words have remained at this point but they have remained more or less the same in subsequent speeches by the West German chancellor or his December 1983 letter to Gen W. Jaruzelski in which he reaffirmed his government's desire to continue normalizing relations with Poland.

At the same time, however, the West German government has continued its policy of restrictions and political isolation of Poland. The Polish government has repeatedly emphasized that it hears the assurances of the FRG's head of state with interest but it is facts rather than words that are most important in politics. Let us recall the words spoken by Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Olszowski before the Sejm on 31 January 1983: "We want to believe that the declarations by officials in Bonn on the need to continue the process of detente and cooperation in Europe and to normalize relations with the socialist countries will find their confirmation in practice. We expect that the Federal Republic of Germany will return to the road of normalizing relations. We will be open to constructive initiatives and actions of the Federal Republic".

At a provincial PZPR conference in Katowice on 21 February 1983, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Gen W. Jaruzelski said: "We want to maintain normal and even close relations with all countries regardless of their form of government. This, of course, applies as well to the Federal Republic of Germany". Further, in reference to the periodically renewed territorial claims made against us such as the speech by Minister F. Zimmermann, Gen Jaruzelski said that "We do not underestimate the latest revanchist incident or look at it as an unintentional prank. We do, however, see it in its proper proportions because for the first time in our history we have a lasting and reliable political and military guarantee".

The declaration adopted by the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission at its 4 January 1984 session expressed a willingness to reactivate the process of normalization on the basis of observance of the spirit and letter of the 7 December 1970 treaty and complete openness to all constructive initiatives of the Federal Republic of Germany. On the same day, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs J. Wiejacz said that "we have noted in the FRG many statements indicative of a desire to improve relations with Poland". Obviously, the politicians in Bonn poorly read the intentions of these declarations. They were not the product of weakness but of political realism and readiness to

continue the process of normalization and understanding.

The result of such a false reading of the intentions of our leadership was further political provocation by the FRG. The first such provocation and one of great caliber was that of Minister A. Mertes. When the Christian Democrats returned to power, Mertes, the secretary of state in the Bonn Ministry of Foreign Affairs, showed uncommon motion in diplomacy and speech-making. In Zurich, Brussels and Stockholm, he gave lectures in which he propagandized the new political line taken by the Christian Democratic government and the German words for peace and peace policy was declined in all 16 cases of the Finnish language. However, in his relations with Poland, Minister Mertes has unfortunately given a very poor record of himself. This was because of the fact that he brought up for discussion on a government level the problem of the existence of a so-called German minority. In principle, this was nothing new. Even during the negotiations for the 1970 Treaty for Normalization of Relations, the West Germans attempted to bring this problem into the discussions. This move met with strong resistance from the Polish government and was quickly dropped. Now that our country is in a weaker position, Bonn obviously seems to think that this is a good opportunity to re-open this matter.

Thus, Alois Mertes, replying on 14 December 1983 to an interpolation by a Bundestag deputy, stated that in Poland, and especially in its western and northern territories, there are living about 1.1 million Germans. According to Mertes, the West German government is obligated to protect these Germans (Schutzpflicht). This first of all means that they must be granted the rights of a national minority. A. Mertes stated that "in accordance with the International Human Rights Pacts, the Helsinki Final Act and the lasting agreement between the German and Polish peoples, the federal government demands the right of these people to hold the status of a national minority and most of all that they be allowed to use their native language, especially in schools and churches".

The German Federal Republic's use of the term "German" to refer to "a national minority in Poland" has been determined by West German revisionist legal regulations derived from the premise that the German Reich of 1937 continues to exist legally. This fictional legal structure about the existence of the German Reich of 1937 has been reflected in the domestic legislation of the German Federal Republic. A formula for German citizenship has been constructed on the basis of that premise. I would like to point out the political ring that this doctrine has to it. The current thesis in West Germany is that a German is any person that held German citizenship on 31 December 1937 and this has led to political contortions. Let us recall that at this time 1.5 million Poles were living on the territory of the German Reich and were its citizens. Today, the state law which does not extend to lands in which the greater part of the population was Polish says that these former citizens of the Third Reich are considered by the FRG to be German citizens. Thus, they deny their right to be Polish. In this example we see how one absurdity gives rise to the next. It does not attest well to the West German politicians that have with such fury attacked that part of a homily by Cardinal J. Glemp in which he said: "It is not only personal feelings of individuals but also the laws of a given country

that determine one's membership to a national community. The law of one land may not apply its standards to the citizens of another if it wants to be law rather than fiction used for political games". If the people in Bonn continue to feel that they must manipulate public opinion in a matter of such importance to the Polish nation, then Cardinal Glemp's words above should make them think a little more deeply. In such cases, it is really irresponsible to count on the Poles being divided.

According to the Federal Republic of Germany, the number of "Germans" living in Poland and forming a so-called national minority forms a category that can be called "fictitious Germans", that is, persons recognized as Germans for political reasons based on revisionist legal regulations, persons having nothing in common with German nationality. Thus, the German claim is deprived of any justifiable proof that there exists in Poland an ethnically-German population. Despite the fact that Minister Mertes in subsequent speeches even claimed that he did not intend to bring up this problem with his former statements, the West German foreign affairs minister, H.D. Genscher, came out with similar statements on the existence of a so-called German minority in Poland. Two CDU deputies who were also in Warsaw in May 1984, W. Ruehe and H. Klein, also continued to emphasize the validity of the West German claim of the existence of the German Reich in its 1937 borders and brought up the problem of "the rights of the German minority living in Poland, Germans and their descendants". At the same time, if revisionist organizations could not have found greater joy in the speech by Minister A. Mertes, the same holds true of politicians who saw this problem as a useful lever for putting economic pressure on Poland.

The newest provocation of this type to Polish and West German relations was the reception given on 23 May 1984 that F. Vogel, the minister of state in the Chancellory, acting in behalf of and on instructions of H. Kohl, gave a delegation "Silesian" youth which handed him a document supposedly signed by 20,000 persons including 100 deputies to the various Landtag and the Bundestag. This document demanded that the Polish government "guarantee the rights and freedom of 1,100,000 Germans living in the Oder-Neisse territories". Minister F. Vogel did not fail to inform his guests that his government was also speaking out in the same spirit on behalf of German compatriots in the Oder-Neisse territories. The Polish government's press spokesman, Minister J. Urban, stated on 4 January 1984 that the Polish government rejects claims of this type based on the West German revisionist concept of German citizenship. He added that the Polish government regards such utterances as a violation of the 1970 agreements and that Polish society has been offended by such claims not only for political reasons but for moral ones as well. If the West Germans insist on pursuing this clearly revisionist claim against Poland, this may threaten a freezing of relations, especially social relations aimed at creating rather than hindering means of normalizing relations.

The foundation on which revisionism has grown may not be limited solely to speeches by West German politicians. This phenomenon has deeper and broader roots. It is the result of the existence in part of West German society of a continuing attitude of superiority over the inhabitants of Eastern Europe, a feeling that they are the "Ueberschmensch" [supermen]. In turn, Poland,

through its implementation of the Joint Instructions on the teaching of history and geography has undertaken the entirely difficult task of teaching its society to respect other nations and is, in a word, realizing the decrees of the United Nations Declaration on teaching the ways of peace to society.

Another step by the government of the FRG was the republication of documentation on the "expulsion of Germans from Central and Eastern Europe". The first edition of this 8-volume work was released in 1954 when Poland mattered nothing to the German federal government and the GDR was referred to as nothing more than the "Soviet zone of occupation". That was the atmosphere in Bonn at that time. Anticommunism was the battering ram that could be used to implement the American policy of "roll back", "liberation", "beating back communism" and "the liberation from communism of the nations of Eastern Europe". Thirty years later today, the same documentation can again be purchased in West German bookstores. It seems that this work is intended to call attention of West German society to what happened to the Germans living in Eastern Europe in 1944-45 with no explanation whatsoever of why this happened. The readers are not informed that the first to drive out Germans were other Germans and their nazi party. The second thing to drive these Germans from their homes was fear, fear over their guilt before the people of Eastern Europe. The German population living there knew that in the name of Germans, Germans were committing crimes against the defeated peoples. These German inhabitants of those lands tried to flee from their guilt and historical justice was rendered by the Potsdam Agreement which decreed the resettlement of German populations from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It was at this same time that the Polish government showed how alien to it were feelings of hatred and revenge by their well-organized and humanitarian resettlement of millions of Germans under the difficult conditions caused by the devastation wrought by the nazi occupants. Now, when it seems to the sponsors of this documentation that they are again strong enough to again poison the minds of German society, they have republished this work, the territorial range of which is broad because it covers the territory of the Reich which was supposed to last for a thousand years but which in fact survived barely five.

It seems that this documentation was needed by the revanchists in the FRG to poison the atmosphere of political normalization between Poland and West Germany. It may seem to be a paradox, but there has begun to be seen a great discrepancy between what the government says in questioning the legality of the present borders and the attitudes of the greater part of West German society which see the borders as settled and want to continue the process of normalization continued. It is, after all, not without any reason that revisionist organizations in West Germany are made nervous by the results of a poll which clearly show that the majority of West Germany society sees the GDR as a foreign country and Gdansk and Wroclaw as Polish cities. Chancellor Kohl's government will therefore try to minimize relations with Poland in order to manipulate public opinion in his country. How different now is the present situation from that when W. Brandt was chancellor. He had to overcome in his own society strong resistance to and misunderstanding of his attempts to normalize relations and to point out the powerful charge of moral responsibility of Germans to Poles. Now, the majority of this same society has come to understand that cooperation and the growth of normalized relations is

not only of benefit to their own nation but also places on them certain obligations to Poland and the Poles.

At the same time, other than for those who sought to make political capital from it, the campaign to send packages to Poland was a spontaneous reflex by that part of West Germany society which saw the need for understanding with Poland and Poles. However, such an attitude, even of part of society, did not fit the concepts of those who wanted to lead relations with Poland into confrontation. This documentation is nothing more than a conscious and premeditated attempt to hinder our mutual relations.

There is nothing strange in the fact that, with such a political atmosphere in Bonn, the compatriots have become ever louder and more aggressive. This is at least nothing new and is practically the same as those that were uttered when Chancellor Adenauer greeted the participants of a compatriot gathering. The revisionist lobby enjoys the support of the new Bonn coalition and not without reason. The present coalition allows the revisionists to proclaim before society its slogans and demands that so openly conflict with the Treaty for Normalization of Relations that was signed by the Government of the FRG.

In all of this political scenery, no one has considered the fundamental fact that the situation in Europe today is not the same as it was in the 1950's. Despite the fact that representatives of the American government have made speeches in which they demand either a revision or renunciation of Yalta and selectively assess particular socialist countries, the 1970 Normalization Treaties were signed as well as the Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which is binding on the United States too. Rhetorical fireworks were never a good substitute for a constructive policy of cooperation. For the same reason, when we now hear or read speeches by Bundestag deputies such as Hupka and Czaja, Ministers Zimmermann and Windelen, Bundestag Chairman Barzel or Carstens, the former president, it is easy to see that they have very little of anything new to say to their listeners. They can, on the other hand, do what they were unable to bring into effect in the 1970's. They can spoil the climate of Polish/West German relations and destroy the enormous contribution to normalization that has been made in past years.

The intensification of arguments against the Treaty for Normalization of Relations throws doubt on the credibility of the Christian Democratic politicians who, as the more liberal elements of their party, try to create the impression that revanchist speeches are just the fringe of West German political life. The minimizing of such speeches and actions may suggest a division of roles and such an attitude would be highly immoral. This is because the declarations and statements that have been made by members of the West German government against the postwar peaceful order of Europe, the cornerstone of which are Polish and West German relations, and actions which throw doubt on their willingness to improve relations with the other German state, the GDR, are regarded in the capitals of the socialist countries with the attention required the utterances of West German cabinet members. Territorial revisionist thinking, regardless of the degree or form, has become so strongly a part of the leadership in Bonn that revisionist statements of

ministers or secretaries of state are not at all regarded there as anything aimed at the 1970 treaties or peace in Europe. For that reason, Helmut Kohl tolerates revisionist-minded ministers in his government.

It is far from me to demonize figures such as Hupka or Czaja but I cannot fight the impression that the FRG has an ulterior motive in its games with Poland. As its actions toward Poland indicate, West Germany is aiming for the interpretation of the 1970 treaty and of relations with Poland that the Christian Democrats propagandized while it was in power prior to 1969 and when it afterward became the opposition party. Its intentions therefore are to make light of the substance of the December 1970 treaty. The treaty's main paragraph, which speaks of recognition of Poland's Oder and Neisse borders and the renunciation of any present, past or future territorial claims against Poland, was to be realized through a less obligating interpretation, namely a renunciation of the use of force, in other words, "Locarno redivivus". Furthermore, the intention is to add problems such as the German minority, documentation and still other "provocations" to that postulate. The timing of this action seems to be somewhat more than coincidental. The CDU political circles obviously decided that Poland's international position had become weaker, that its internal political and economic situation continued to be unstable and that these factors themselves might make it easier to realize their demands. It has been forgotten that for 1984, 1984 is not 1981 and that in the space of a few years our country has begun under difficult internal and external condition to make up for the damage caused by irresponsible social forces at home and restrictions abroad.

We are aware of the increasingly aggressive posturing that the leadership of the FRG is making on the problem of the unity of the German people. Kohl's government is trying to gain the support and understanding for this goal of its allies and of governments that may for economic reasons be inclined to verbally support Bonn's political slogans. The Bonn government is aware of the position taken in the past by the United States: Willy Brandt as well as Konrad Adenauer both heard their American "friend" John Foster Dulles say that the USA and USSR re both in agreement that they will not allow the reunification of Germany so that a balance can be established between the East and West. Today the policy of the FRG, a state which now has a different and more important role in world affairs, is aware of the changing Bonn-Washington relationship. Unconditional support for the deployment on West German soil of American rockets is seen to be an attempt to increase West Germany's value to the US. We see in these relations a type of feedback because, on the one hand, the aggressive policy of the United States has an unquestioned effect on West German policy which has found expression in the growing activities of revanchist groups, while on the other hand, West Germany intends to gain enough influence on Washington that the United States will support Bonn's policy toward socialist countries, especially when it fits the United States' overall strategy of destabilizing our system. This is an alliance against peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe. However, sometimes the lack of support that Bonn's allies show for its goals is a source of irritation. There is no other way to interpret the following fragment of a speech by Alois Mertes at a conference on 8 July at Alpbach, Austria:

"Whoever does not want the unsolved German problem to bring about German neutralism and aid Soviet political expansion must understand the democratic substance of Germany's will to reunite".

Another means by which the West German government wishes to dictate or force this problem on us is its relations with the GDR. However, it is here that it has had its greatest disappointments. We cannot exclude the fact that Bonn's western allies have given it many verbal reassurances of support for "this crucial problem". However, will they have the inclination to do more and allow a united German state which according to article 7 of the General Treaty of 1952 is supposed to be a state patterned after the present West German state to totally liquidate the GDR and open Pandora's box? Are the people in Bonn so naive that they think that the GDR's allies and the Warsaw Pact will stand by idly as they expand the bounds of German imperialism? The intensive development of relations that we have recently observed with the GDR has not been brought about for the purpose of increasing the sovereignty of the second German state. The championing of such causes as "human contact" and "preservation of national unity", the emphasis placed on the existence of these two states' "mutual interests" or even "partnership" blatantly contradict utterances by Chancellor Kohl in which he referred to the political system in the GDR as "Gewaltherrschaft" (rule by force). Do they expect that the leadership of the GDR, which has so much experience in dealing with West German revanchist circles, does not know the real cause and background of this sudden interest in selective development of mutual relations? The current theories advanced in the FRG that discretion and silence should be preserved in dealings with the GDR to avoid provoking its socialist partners are of no avail. These are really remarks of the kind a child would make about international politics. As general secretary of the NSPJ [expansion unknown] and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker said that the two Germanies are like fire and water and the best and most complicated formulas cannot overcome this physical law and bring together the two. Relations between the two German states as they were conducted in the final stages of West Germany's Ostpolitik brought about a reduction of tension in this part of Europe and removed many of the hindrances to contacts between the citizens of these states but they did not blur their class, social and economic differences. Despite the fact that they both lie on the border of two worlds, the capitalist and the socialist, the two German states have nonetheless remained members of their respective alliances. And there is still another aspect to consider. Do the more responsible and realistic thinkers in Bonn not know that any change in the balance of forces that might be brought about by article 7 of the General Treaty would result in a change in the balance of power throughout the world and within the western block itself? Is the specter of an economic colossus which could keep the British, French and other competition awake at night supposed to be the encouragement to take up again such an approach to dealings with the East?

These few fundamental questions show how little Bonn is thinking in terms of Realpolitik despite the fact that this word is a product of German political thought. The existence of two separate German states is one of the conditions for European security and all other national problems must be subordinated to this imperative. The politicians in Bonn know that the question of German reunification is also not a popular subject among West Germany's allies who

recently observed the fortieth anniversary of the Normandy Invasion. For that reason too, a formula is being sought which, in the opinion of West German political circles, might satisfy the political goals of the West and not arouse any alarm, particularly in the socialist countries. Such a formula is the "Europaeische Friedensordnung" (the peaceful order of Europe). The subject of this theme is that the division of Germany can only be ended by eliminating the division of Europe. This is such an elastic political formula that it does not really say anything. Does eliminating the division of Europe mean liquidating the social progress made in the socialist countries? This slogan is nothing more than shallow rhetoric. It is not strange that during a seminar organized in Bonn in May of this year, when an American participant asked what is the "peaceful order of Europe", none of the West Germans present there could provide a satisfactory answer, if any at all. We have been able, however, to note another phenomenon. This is that the revisionist line and efforts to reinterpret the the 1970 Treaty for Normalization of Relations are not the only compass by which the measure Bonn. After all, we have heard an noted with interest the statements made by the foreign minister, H.D. Genscher, who is, as we know, a member of the Free Democratic Party which along with the SPD was the political force that initiated the new course taken in West Germany's Ostpolitik. It cannot be denied that Poland was interested to hear that during the Bundestag discussions of 7 June 1984, Genscher gave assurances that the Federal Republic of Germany has renounced all territorial claims against Poland both for the present and future. Poland's western borders on the Oder and Neisse may not be called into question. Minister Genscher stated that the normalization of relations begun by the 1970 treaty is one of the most worthwhile achievements of German postwar foreign policy. However, under legal interpretation, The Bundestag has become the prisoner of the structures that it made for itself in its 17 May 1972 resolution. Now they are even the subject of criticism by the same social democrats that voted for the resolution. Today, these Bundestag deputies are now the same politicians that, in dealings with Poland, wish to preserve as much as possible of the values that they strove together to achieve in past years. Their attitude is somewhat reminiscent of the SPD's actions in the period before 1967 when it was an opposition party. It would also be important that in the years in which the SPD was part of the governing coalition that it made the conclusions needed then and took an unambiguous position on relations with Poland that this process with all of its moral and historical dimension deserves.

If it wants to avoid standing in the same place in which it found itself at the end of the 1960's, isolated in other words, Bonn's policy toward the socialist countries must consider what happened at this time in Europe around and within the Federal Republic of Germany. The peace forces and realistic thinkers in West Germany such as the Evangelist Church, which in the 1960's had the courage to speak out against isolation and the deception by West German politicians of their own society, now face a task of equal importance and dimension. This is because the future of Polish and West German mutual relations, of such great importance to peace in Europe, lies in the hands of everyone for whom the borders are no problem but rather a problem of peace in Europe and the world.

Poland looks realistically at its relations with West Germany and that country's attitude toward us. We above all appreciate deeds rather than

declarations that are not followed by any concrete steps to deepen the process of normalizing our relations. The fear of any attempt to undermine the validity of our borders as well as to realize nationalistic desires has ceased to be a thing that determines our policy and attitudes. Poland today is an irrevocable fact of European reality and our position in the key problems of foreign policy comes from profound reevaluation of our position. As in no other matter, Polish society is united and for that reason, it is really a delusion for anyone to hope that politicians such as Burdecki will appear in our country. There is yet another aspect of Polish/West German relations that must not be forgotten. Both states represent totally different governmental, economic and ideological structures. Therefore, all of the statements of West German politicians on the "struggle against communism" are uttered with reference to Poland as a socialist country.

Our position is also taken by a considerable number of politicians in the FRG and not just those who are members of the SPD. There are other forces and political circles in Bonn that see that the negation of all of the consequences of the Third Reich's unconditional surrender will lead nowhere. For this reason, the words of Polish Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski spoken before the 21 July 1984 session of the Sejm are also just: "We look at the reality of the Federal Republic of Germany not only from this angle (revisionism). We also see in West German society circles and forces that recognize the realia of Europe. It is only in this way that the Federal Republic of Germany could really bring about an improvement in East-West relations. This would also encourage bilateral relations, the broadening of contacts and constructive, mutually-beneficial cooperation". Even in the hardest moments, so many of which there have already been in the history of our mutual relations, Poland never lost a broader perspective of Polish-German relations in general. We know that the fate of all of Europe is strongly bound with the relations that have formed in this part of the continent. Our leaders, those of our fraternal German Democratic Republic and even more so the realistic political thinkers of the other Germany, the FRG, stress that this is not megalomania. This places before our countries a great responsibility to maintain the entire infrastructure of relations formed during past years. However, there is no place in this for delayed-action missiles but only for the type of actions and agreements that can strengthen the peace that has continued in Europe for so many years. All political and social forces in West Germany that are unambiguously and honestly committed to maintaining the process of normalization and the values it has created to build them on the basis of the 7 December 1970 Treat for Normalization of Relations Between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany will find us to be faithful allies.

12261

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VOGEL COMMENTS ON POLISH-GERMAN BOUNDARY QUESTION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Nov 84 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SPD faction in the Bundestag, by Zbigniew Ramotowski, foreign correspondent for ZYCIE WARSZAWY: "For Us, Poland's Western Border Is Inviolable Now and in the Future"]

[Text] An important diplomatic event is about to occur: together with a group of deputies and specialists in the Social Democratic faction in the Bundestag, Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of this faction and federal vice chairman of the SPD, arrives in Poland today.

This is an official 3-day visit, within the framework of several years of contact and cooperation between the PZPR and the SPD on a parliamentary level. Previous talks took place last year in Bonn; heading the Polish delegation was the chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Kazmierz Barcikowski.

Before the SPD parliamentarians departed for Warsaw, our ZYCIE WARSZAWY correspondent requested an interview with H.-J. Vogel. The contents of the interview are given below.

[Question] Mr Chairman, what significance does this trip have for you, that is, what does Poland mean to you?

[Answer] We are setting up this visit at the request of the PZPR Club in the Sejm. In this manner, we are continuing the exchange of views which has been conducted by that club and the PSD faction in the Bundestag since 1970. These talks, despite basic ideological differences between both parties, have a unique tradition. They demonstrate the special significance which we Social Democrats attach to relations with Poland. The present trip is a sign that I want to continue what was begun by Carlo Schmid, Herbert Wehner, Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

[Question] A few months ago, within the framework of the so-called "present hour" in the Bundestag, your faction recalled and affirmed the bases for relations between the Polish People's Republic and the

Federal Republic of Germany agreed upon in 1970. How would you, as chairman of the faction and vice chairman of the Social Democratic party, express these bases?

[Answer] For us, the basis of our policy with regard to Poland is, both in letter and in spirit, the agreement signed in Warsaw. Let me make myself perfectly clear: for us, the existing, fixed, western border of Poland is inviolable today and in the future. We respect with no stipulations whatsoever Poland's territorial integrity. Thus, as is expressed in the agreement, we want to create permanent bases for peaceful cooperation and the development of normal, good relations between our two countries. The step-by-step development of mutual understanding, readiness to consider the other side's problems, and the art of cooperation--in the economic arena, for example--could point the way for forming good relations. That would be good for Europe, too.

[Question] What, in your opinion, is most important aspect of present East-West relations?

[Answer] After the election of the President of the United States and the resulting termination of almost a year of "wait-and-see" in international politics, both world powers should resume a dialogue and take up the great problems at the negotiating table.

The growing lunacy of armaments must be stopped, or else we may be moving toward catastrophe. I also believe that the smaller nations, within the framework of their alliances, should exert an influence on the leading powers in this spirit.

[Question] What, in your opinion, are the most essential steps to be taken?

[Answer] Negotiations on arms control, above all in the sphere of nuclear weapons, should be resumed. Pertaining to this, both great powers should renounce the stationing of more intermediate- and short-range nuclear weapons. Finally, the promise to dismantle and control armaments, expressed in the agreement concluded by the atomic states, should be fulfilled. As for other, similarly important tasks--if there is no success in reaching a suitable ban on a global scale, then Europe, at least, should be made a zone free from chemical weapons.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9451  
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RESTRICTIONS ON PRESS IN COURTROOM DEFINED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Nov 84 p 5

[Interview with Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice by Tomasz Arlet:  
"Supremacy of Society's Rights"]

[Text] "It is unlawful for the press to editorialize on court proceedings before a verdict can be rendered by the court of the first instance." This rigorous restriction was written into the law governing the press. So much for regulations. Questioning their enforcement in practice, a PAP reporter interviewed Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice.

[Brol] The question of procedures for adherence to the press law in court is in fact a question of what information the reader, listener and spectator has the right to expect from the press regarding the functioning of the judicial system. Administration of the law continues to be a lively subject of the public's interest. Reliable coverage of court activities enhances the broadly conceived legal education of the citizenry.

With this in mind, what are the legal rights of the reporter who has been assigned court reporting? What can the newspaper reader expect as a result? Courts, as instruments of the state, are obligated to provide the reporter with complete information regarding their activities. This is currently recognized as a legal requirement, with limitations on these privileges being dictated solely by state and official secrets, etc., safeguarding of the judicial process and the unrelenting concern for the welfare of people involved in court procedures.

[Question] In spite of these directives, there are still barriers in reporting on the judicial system in action. The reporter is inhibited in giving thorough coverage in many cases.

[Answer] First of all, you cannot publish information on subjects considered to be of a classified nature. Regulatory procedures determine if a case is to be conducted in open hearings or if it will be decided behind closed doors, barred to the general public. This may also occur in criminal cases when the subject matter is considered to be offensive or degrading and or if it would compromise state secrets. In cases of this sort the reporter cannot be given information by the court. This is also true when it comes to

information contained in court documents which is protected by regulations on privileged material (for example, medical history reports, access to which is regulated by the law on the medical profession). Although broad, the scope of material available to the court reporter does not necessarily include unlimited access to all information, nor does he have the right to publish it indiscriminately.

[Question] Are regulations covering the publication of information contained in court documents also included in the criminal code?

[Answer] Yes, in article 225 of the criminal code. This restriction recognizes as a misdemeanor the publication of information obtained at preliminary proceedings without permission, in advance of the main hearing. This limitation has an obvious purpose, namely to prevent the jeopardizing of the investigation by the premature disclosure of evidence on record. Uncensored publication of evidence could in certain instances complicate and even prejudice criminal prosecution or forewarn suspects and perpetrators, making their apprehension more difficult. It is also a misdemeanor to reveal facts about a case being held behind closed doors.

[Question] So what then is the basic meaning of article 13 of the new press law which has been mentioned in press reports?

[Answer] It relates to the development of an appropriate awareness of law in society and reliable administration of justice. This regulation was intended to limit a reporter (or any other person) from presenting an opinion in the press on the outcome of a court case before a judgment is rendered by the court of the first instance. It does not mean, however, that the reporter cannot relate facts on such proceedings. If this were to occur it would lead to the abandonment of court reporting, which would be a detriment to the public interest. This restriction simply means that the reporter cannot publish his evaluations of the facts before the official determination is announced by a court of the first instance. The intended purpose in this case is to eliminate the often occurring newspaper verdicts, which are published in advance of court findings.

After the court reaches its verdict the reporter has the right to express his own, in most cases differing, opinion. This as a rule is an adversarial posture toward the arguments and position of the court. Ultimately the final decision will rest with the reader.

[Question] Recently newspapers in their accounts of pending criminal cases or already announced verdicts have been showing the full names of the suspected, accused or sentenced individuals.

[Answer] The law regulating the press essentially forbids the publication of personal descriptions and photos of people being charged in preliminary hearings or actual court cases. This ruling also covers witnesses, plaintiffs, defendants and persons being sought unless the party in question grants them permission. A regulation of this sort serves to protect the interests of people involved in litigations, especially when the publication of their personal data or photograph may present additional unnecessary hardships.

This could be an unjustified cause of distress for people who later are found to be innocent of the accusations or have not been involved in the commission of crimes of which they have been falsely charged. On the other hand, the public has a lawful right to know all details, including the full names of defendants, in instances where the public interest is at stake.

Matters concerning the welfare of society warrant giving the public information not only about the court's sentence itself, but also of details about guilty parties. Offenses which threaten or create the great peril are of primary interest to the general public.

Several years ago the Supreme Court rendered a decision on this matter. In its decision of 25 October 1976 it pointed out: "The restriction prohibiting the publication of the names of persons involved in pending investigations is not intended to include crimes of a particularly distasteful nature or those presenting a threat to society, since the public should be fully informed and warned as early as possible of the impending danger."

[Question] Does the law regulating the press require the court's or prosecutor's approval?

[Answer] Yes. The public interest decides the disclosure of the names of persons implicated in criminal proceedings. This concept has been in effect for a long time in actual practice. The prosecuting attorney or court can independently decide if existing circumstances require this action. It is their discretionary privilege, which they are not required to justify. Under normal circumstances it is seldom necessary to be informed each time the consent of government agencies is involved. It is acceptable for either the reporter or someone on the editorial staff to secure approval. A reporter interested in the possibility of being able to give the name of the prosecuted or convicted individual has the occasion of approaching the court or prosecutor for their permission. An approval for disclosure can also be given through the office of the court.

[Question] Can this be considered an additional penalty?

[Answer] This undoubtedly can be considered an additional distress for the person accused of breaking the law. It is improper, however, to consider it to be as severe as the one provided by the penalty of the criminal code in having the details of the sentence officially publicized. In reality, it is in the public interest to disclose the identity of the perpetrator, while at the same time giving full consideration to the benefits derived by the investigation or ongoing court proceedings.

In conclusion, I would once again like to emphasize the particular importance of these legal regulations. They safeguard the properly conceived public interest, which these situations is of greater importance than the interests of the individual.

12306  
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LOPATKA ATTENDS CONGRESS FOR INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Nov 84 p 6

[Interview with Prof Adam Lopatka by Zaneta Semprich; date and place not specified.]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers [IADL] was held in Athens on 15-19 October 1984. A total of 650 lawyers from 89 countries and representatives of 11 international organizations participated. Polish lawyers were represented by a four-person delegation under the direction of Dr Zdizislaw Czeszejiko-Sochacki, president of the Main Administration of the Association of Polish Lawyers [ZPP] and member of the Sejm. One member of the delegation was Prof Adam Lopatka who gave RZECZPOSPOLITA this interview.

[Question] What was the subject matter of this congress:

[Answer] The congress was held under the slogan "Toward a new international order, lawyers in relation to the present threat to peace, development of human rights and the rights of nations." From the point of view of international law, the congress considered the necessity of disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, and declared itself in favor of creating peace zones that would include outer space, the oceans, and certain regions of the globe.

The essential theme of the congress was the realization of the right to development. The crisis of modern economic relations, foreign debt, shortcomings of the world monetary system, and also efforts toward establishing a new international order in the area of information, were discussed to this end. The congress decisively spoke out against politically or ideologically motivated restrictions, which the United States and some other Western nations are attempting to use in international economic relations.

Regarding human rights, the congress concentrated on assuring the right to defense and the right of workers to participate in the administration of enterprises. The most attention was paid to the realization of the right of nations to self-determination of their own political fate and to independently exercised control over the riches of their own soil. The congress condemned the policy of colonialism, foreign occupation, fascist regimes, apartheid regimes, and foreign intervention in the sovereign affairs of nations. The

Congress dealt at length with so-called ideological intervention, which is inadmissible from the point of view of international law. The congress condemned the use of so-called economic weapons in international affairs. The congress declared itself in favor of the right of each nation to choose freely its own economic system and to exercise control over its own economy.

[Question] In what way did the congress express its position in the matters discussed?

[Answer] One can find this position expressed in the reports, of which over 100 were presented, in the numerous controversial pronouncements, and also in the resolutions. The congress passed 60 resolutions. Two special evenings also should be mentioned. One of them took place under the slogan "Solidarity with nations and liberation movements fighting for the freedom of their countries." Appearing that evening, among others, were lawyers representing SWAPO, fighting for the liberity of Namibia; the PLO, fighting for the right of the Palestinian nation to have its own country; Western Sahara, fighting for its own sovereignty; and progressive lawyers of El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Uruguay, Chile, Lebanon, South Korea, Cyprus, Grenada and some other countries. The congress honored the memory of the Grenadian heroes who died in the fight against the invasion and occupation by forces of the United States.

The second evening was devoted to solidarity with women fighting against discrimination in all areas of life as it presently exists in many countries, including rich Western countries.

[Question] You mentioned the resolutions.

[Answer] Essentially, 60 resolutions were passed in which the congress expressed its position in almost all the matters discussed. I would like a however, to mention only two especially significant ones. I have in mind the appeal to the leaders of the United States and the USSR, proposed by the Irish politician Sean McBride, a recipient of the Lenin Peace Prize and the Nobel Peace Prize.

In this appeal, the congress called for the leaders of both of the above-mentioned powers to undertake all political, economic and legal steps aimed at the normalization of relations between the two countries, because their present tension is determining the entirety of the situation in the world. The second resolution concerns peace and security in Europe. It called for all European nations, and especially the United States and the USSR, to undertake practical steps toward halting the arms race in Europe, and then to disarm in accordance with the requirements of the mutual security of both political-military groups, that is NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

[Question] According to you, what was the characteristic quality of the 12th Congress?

[Answer] The congress was characterized by considerably greater vigor than earlier IADL congresses. The great political meaning of the congress was enhanced by the fact that it took place in Athens, the capital of a nation

belonging to NATO, and with the participation not only of democratic lawyers, but representatives of government and other authorities. The congress was distinguished by a high degree of unanimity in discussions and in decisions. It was open to various ideas and propositions. It was unanimous in its will to fight for peace, for a new international order, for human rights and the freedom of nations. The decisions of the congress are characterized not only by political fervor saturated with the ideals of democracy and peace, but also a high level of legal expertise. The congress was saturated with optimism resulting from the conviction that the IADL is fighting for a just cause that must triumph.

An ideological force showed itself at the congress, which is represented by social revolution and the fight of nations for liberation from imperialist domination. The extremely high moral position of the USSR and the community of socialist nations was disclosed, as well as the attractiveness of the social conceptions of socialism.

A scene from the end of the congress was deeply engraved in my memory, when the secretary general of the IADL, the distinguished Algerian lawyer Amar Bentommi, with the enthusiastic support of the audience, said among other things: "Who maintains the criminal apartheid regime in South Africa? Who refuses the Palestinian nation the right to its own country? Who sabotages UN resolutions concerning the liberation of Namibia? Who prevents the unification of Korea? Who deprives the Sahara movement of freedom? Who tramples the right of nations to decide their own fates? Those same people who discuss star wars, who destabilize the economy of many countries; those who through financial manipulations cause poverty and hunger for millions of people. They are the same who trample the UN Charter, who, presumptuous in their own military strength, in their riches, and their technologies, want to impose their own will and their interests on the entire world. We, democratic lawyers, are against these practices. That is why we are anti-imperialist."

[Question] What conclusions from the congress can be drawn for Polish lawyers?

[Answer] The Association of Polish Lawyers will realize the resolutions of the congress and will strengthen its ties with the IADL. Above all else, however, the congress showed that the road, followed by Polish lawyers united by the ZPP, a road of active participation in the creation of socialist reality, is the only just one. The congress also showed that the road of solidarity with all lawyers of the world puts Polish lawyers among the worldwide fortes of progress. The congress gave an impression of participation in the creation of a new peace and a democratic political order in the world. It also showed the need for openness to new ideas, new evaluations, and legal solutions in many areas of life. And here the line of action represented by Polish lawyers found resonance, worldwide support, and confirmation.

[Insert] The International Association of Democratic Lawyers arose from among others the initiative of Polish democratic lawyers in 1946. The first congress of the association was held in Paris in October 1946. It arose as an expression of the ideal of the victory of democracy over fascism and

militarism, in order to support cooperation of lawyers in the fight for peace, to give support to the rules of the UN Charter and to the defense of human rights and the rights of nations. It is an organization of action. Today the IADL is the only lawyers' organization on a worldwide scale with a progressive, anti-imperialistic and antiwar countenance. It unites lawyers from countries representing different social systems and professing different ideologies. The Association of Polish Lawyers is an active branch of the IADL.

12433

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## WORK FORCE APATHY IN SELF-MANAGEMENT ANALYZED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Tadeusz B. Jaworski: "Work Force Self-Management: Formal Approval, or Real"]

[Text] Work force self-management has generally become an expression of the constitutional principle of work force participation in the management of state enterprises, conformity with the development of socialist economy and the state, and the basis for enterprise changes and operation. The effectiveness and efficiency, not only of product management but also--and perhaps primarily--of harmonization between the activities of the economic trade apparatus and the ingenuity, experience and activities of the enterprise work force, depend on how self-management operates, and on how it represents the work force and coordinates its interests with public goals.

An external expression of self-management activity, a sort of reflection of its reality, is the resolutions adopted by its bodies. Their content must be an expression of the relationship between the work force and existing problems, of its aspirations and goals on the one hand, and on the other hand of the factual maturity of the joint managers, their critical ability, and an expression of objective judgment of events which are often very complex and serious. Their nature requires that the resolutions express an unambiguous position formulated in a method and form which do not arouse reservations. When forwarded to the director, there must be no doubt that they are the expression of the joint feelings and attitudes of the work force respecting questions which have been settled.

The method and validity of the resolutions adopted by the work force self-management organs have recently become a subject of lively interest for some worker councils and, in this connection, the subject of explanations and commentaries, particularly with respect to the practical importance of the principle of a simple majority of votes when the majority of authorized members of the self-management organ do not approve adoption of a resolution.

## Simple Majority

This matter has been settled in advance from the viewpoint of the regulations in the law on work force self-management: the resolutions of a general meeting and of a worker council are passed by a simple majority of votes. We have explained the essence of this principle in the columns of RZECZPOSPOLITA ("Absolute or simple majority of votes"). This clearly shows that a resolution is adopted and valid if the number of "for" votes is greater than the "against" votes, regardless of how many delegates abstain from voting.

Against this background some worker councils have voiced questions and suggestions for the validity of a resolution, calling for approval by at least half of the self-management body members. This is not possible in the current legal situation, because the adoption of such a solution would mean requiring an absolute majority, while the law on work force self-management calls for the adoption of resolutions by a simple majority of votes.

Obviously, if the legislature wanted the resolutions of self-management bodies to be adopted as a result of approval by more than half of the members attending a meeting, they could have stipulated an absolute majority instead of a simple majority of votes. Thus, from the formal point of view, it is not possible to voice reservations or to shake the validity of the resolutions. However, the problem concerns the line between formal and real approval, and this question is significant, because form may come to dominate content.

## Without Reservations, But...

Is it possible to consider that a matter has real approval in a resolution adopted by 5 votes for acceptance, 3 votes against, and 19 abstentions? Formally everything is in order. The resolution is adopted and valid. But then, for example, does the appointment of a director in this manner by a worker council mean approval of the candidate, and would the removal of a director have to be understood as an expression of the will of the self-management body in whose hands lies the decision of who will direct the enterprise, and how it will be directed? Can acceptance of an enterprise split, its conversion into a public utility enterprise, division of income or sales of some capital assets in this way be recognized as being in conformity with the will of the work force and its self-management representation?

A number of other questions, no less fundamental, arise against this background. For example, does a resolution accepted in this manner concerning a program to heal the economy of an enterprise threatened by bankruptcy satisfy the work force facing a real threat of enterprise liquidation? Will it be a persuasive basis for a bank to grant credit under special conditions, to award an enterprise a subsidy or to give it a tax exemption? Will it be an expression of general approval for a program, the content and realization of which will determine the existence of an enterprise and the fate of its work force? Finally, could it be thought that this program or some other undertaking would gain the approval of the self-management body and satisfy the work force? In the meantime the adoption of resolutions by worker councils in this specific form is not an isolated phenomenon. This is confirmed by many signals voiced particularly after

the publication of the explanation in RZECZPOSPOLITA referring to the simple majority of votes in the self-management body procedure for adopting resolutions.

#### Essential Barrier

More and more worker councils, and not without reasonable grounds in my opinion, are expressing reservations with respect to this principle, along with misgivings about the real threats which are entailed by a lack of appreciation of the danger of merely formal approval by an enterprise self-management body, often of fundamental importance to the enterprise, and also not a matter of indifference to the authority of the self-management bodies between enterprise management and its work force.

The principle of a simple majority of votes, commonly used in parliamentary practice, is not exposed to such dangers. This is not because of any compulsory procedure, but because the well-founded parliamentary traditions effectively protect against distortion of the material of resolutions by the method and form of their adoption. Laws approved by the Sejm or resolutions adopted are subject to a procedure precisely defined, among other things, by Sejm regulations. Every important matter is often discussed by Sejm commissions a number of times. These matters are subjected to discriminating evaluation at meetings of parliamentary clubs and groups, which develop a position on questions which are the object of Sejm deliberations.

Self-management does not have such a tradition nor essentially such possibilities, despite the fact that it can appoint commissions and teams, because the members of self-management bodies perform all tasks publicly, along with professional activities. Therefore, what is successful in parliamentary practice constitutes an essential barrier for self-management, and even a threat in the face of a lack of experience.

It is difficult to make a single judgment about the reasons for a large part, and sometimes an overwhelming part, of the members of some worker councils to abstain from voting on resolutions. Is it the result of a lack of information and knowledge in the area of the resolution being adopted, excessive concern and anxiety in the face of responsibility in the case of a clear statement for a concrete solution, or worry about vulnerability to the enterprise leadership? Or is it perhaps an expression of protest against a proposal which the worker council members do not like or do not have the courage to oppose decisively for various reasons?

#### Question of responsibility

On the basis of many contacts and observations and of much correspondence, it can be said that the operation of the principle of a simple majority of votes in the adoption of resolutions by work force self-management bodies arouses a great deal of not unwarranted emotion. Therefore, in my opinion, the introduction of the principle of an absolute majority should not be ruled out in the future, even if it were not applied to all matters within the competence of the self-management bodies and had to be a principle which could gradually be transformed in the future into a formula of a simple majority of votes. However,

in the meantime the principle of a simple majority is compulsory. Therefore, in the interests of maintaining the idea of self-management, problems should be presented to the self-management body members in such a way that they can express themselves competently in matters under investigation and, in the interests of the enterprises and work force, prepare meetings and develop materials in such a way that they can be understood by people not involved every day in labor management and organization. Here some training for worker council members, of undoubted importance, could to some extent alleviate the severity of this problem.

Every member of a worker council and every delegate is responsible to his electors for fulfilling his functions in self-management bodies because of the mandate of his supporters. Connected with this performance are the need to speak out for or against matters under consideration, to adopt a definite position, to express clear opinions in accord with the state of his knowledge and the experience he has acquired, and to be aware of the joint social responsibility for the fate of the enterprise and its work force. This then is a matter for action and decision, because only this counts in overcoming difficulties, and only this can be a source of strength, position and authority for self-management between enterprise leadership and its work force.

6806

CSO: 2600/132

CRITICAL OPINIONS ON SELF-MANAGEMENT, REFORM VOICED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 40, 6 Oct 84 p 7

/Article by Stanislaw Podemski: "Boldness of Strategy and Timidity of Tactics"/

/Text/ The director of the government public opinion research center invited 16 representatives of the scholarly community, including the legal profession, to an open discussion on the subject of the reforms that have already been carried out and those desirable for the future. The fruits of the discussion are to be presented to the government leadership and also are to serve in forming the subject of the next plenary assembly of the party, which, generally speaking, will be devoted to socialist democracy.

I was a participant at this meeting. It is not possible to present the 5-hour discussion, only its main and dominant currents. The most interesting thing was that it was not demands about new issues that came to the fore (e.g., about changes in the Constitution), but the defense and consistency in carrying out that which had already been proclaimed, accepted and acknowledged as an irreversible process. It has two main vectors: self-management and economic reform.

Self-management is not only a constitutional watchword, but also the object of concern of many of the newest laws: on higher education, the legal profession, people's councils and the cooperative movement, to name a few. At the same time, the differences of opinion and position in the area of self-management (from the ultraloyal to the critical to the oppositional) elicit dissatisfaction and the desire to restore order and to bring the life of self-management close to a planned, ideal model. The methods used here can be various. The most modest is based on the use of legal means of state supervision over self-management (e.g., the opposition of the minister of education to the choice of a rector, or the minister of justice to the resolutions of a congress of lawyers); the most radical is to prepare such legislative changes as will drive the opponent from the field of self-management.

Not quite 3, at times turbulent, years after the introduction of martial law, one can understand the fears and apprehensions that dictate such decisions. To understand, however, does not mean to advise, since each hard encroachment into the delicate matter of self-management brings with it farreaching negative

consequences, considerably more serious than the benefits received, most of which are temporary, and even only illusory. There are many reasons for this.

Real, not only paper, self-management began functioning after more than a 30-year break and the omnipotence of state administration. It is accepted in many circles with disbelief, and treated as an interim, tactical and only formal declaration. The absence of the masses in public life, their confinement to participation in the circle of immediate family, friends and acquaintances, are repeatedly affirmed facts. There are few people willing to work in factory, local and higher education self-management. A recent report from a conference of chairmen of provincial people's councils ("The activity of self-management has greatly declined in recent times"--ZYCIE WARSAWY 27 September 1984) is in keeping with the fact that 3 months have passed since the elections to the people's councils, a time in which it is hard to discern any lively activity on their part.

Increased interference in the sphere of self-management strengthens the conviction to treat it as only situational. The group of people that wants, knows how and is able to work in a self-management group is small, but dedicated to this activity. It is also especially sensitive about organizational autonomy; because of this, each attempt at administrative interference in its territory, disregard for its authority and structure, is cause for these individuals to resign from the presently thin ranks of self-management. Their place is quickly and willingly taken by people with the mentality of obedient officials who treat self-management as a springboard to administrative careers. These people look around anxiously to see if the office and the ministry are pleased with them, and thus self-management ends and yet another form of state management, disguised behind a social signboard, begins. However, the reforms taken up by the government were and are not about such a model of self-management.

Self-management, as opposed to the administration, in which the gmina manager and the minister must be bound by common instructions, initiates by its nature a great number of opinions, attitudes and actions, and this is its foreseen and precalculated risk. Because of this it is and always will be penetrated by oppositional behavior, which is, however, strengthened by administrative interference, especially when it is not firmly established, in the beginnings of self-management, for it sets into motion the mechanism of internally organized solidarity. In the meantime, principles are defended and not people, who more often than not would be abandoned at the first opportunity.

A battle with extreme, unrealistic and demagogic attitudes ought to be and therefore may take place within self-management, but this requires time. The nature of the power relationship here is best attested to by, for example, the proportion of rectors called into question to those approved by the governing powers. I repeat this one more time and will not stop repeating it: the majority of society in Poland consists of people who are judicious and loyal to the government, but at the same time critical, and one ought to tailor all acts and laws with them in mind.

The building of administrative practice or a legal system from the point of view of exceptions and extremism would be a mistake with serious consequences,

which in addition would open the door to many new conflicts and social strife. The attitude toward self-management must be marked by a general strategy of goodwill and patience and not by nervous tactics intended for the next not totally peaceful time.

Even old laws can be utilized against self-management or be well-disposed toward it. The law concerning associations, for example, is over a half-century old, but its interpretation has managed to be very diverse. There are examples which attest to the fact that a local administration did not allow the formation of new social organizations, even those furthest from any political activity, in the name of two principles: blessed peace and the fear of social control and the monopolistic understanding of the role of already existing public institutions and social organizations. In these decisions there is also a lack of trust in social groups, which answer in kind with a lack of trust in the administration.

Someone said at this meeting, whose host was Colonel Kwiatkowski, that the greatest loss suffered by the country is the waste of a great, unreleased mass of social energy. This is a quality that does not cost anything, yet which directed on the right course brings enormous profits. Certainly it is harder to govern, and with complications, when dealing with sometimes fractious self-management, but here a show of understanding, self-control, and patience pay off. Self-management is the best, because it is the primary school for forming a sense of the common good, knowledge about social limitations and democratic customs, and this lesson must last without shouting, putting people in the corner, or throwing them out the door. Controversies which are often disclosed, discharged and surmounted on the level of self-management are also characterized by the fact that they do not add up to a conflict which is dangerous to the whole state organism.

The history of the country demands that in this last matter one must always maintain special care, feeling, skill and foresight. The stabilization of law (which does not mean stagnation) concerning self-management is also a condition for any stabilization of a more general nature. "What should one do so that small-scale industry will function well?" someone asked, and answered: "In the next 10 years do not issue regulations devoted to this area of the economy." Chasing after constantly new laws, without the slightest concern for how their fate is shaped in practice, means false, deceptive, dangerous mere appearances of a final resolution of matters which are far from finished. The excellent law about the protection of the environment from barely 4 years ago, and the fact that every day 6 million people in Poland have problems with their water (mass pollution), is a convincing opposition (and not the only one besides) of the exigencies of law and life.

We have to save self-management and the economic reform, but also and above all the economy. In 1983, against all warnings, 26,000 new investments were begun, payments to the Vocational Activization Fund serve to separate pay from work results, subsidized production (mainly of food but not exclusively) may reach 2 billion zlotys next year. On the money market there are 400 billion zlotyes of so-called speculative capital which are ready to buy out everything, and at the same time in February of next year payment on borrowed notes for

another 160 billion zlotys will begin! These are amounts and economic phenomena that carry questions full of concern for tomorrow.

The inconsistencies of the economic policy aim for economic stabilization, but this is a stabilization reached on the lowest level of demands and needs. A tired society and an administration that likes to function comfortably may agree to it too easily. A policy toward self-management that gives in too easily to the mood of the moment favors only the administration and has a strong alibi behind it. Striving for order and peace, it does not do away with self-managing organizations and their democratic forms, but may lead them to the role of convenient, untroublesome, obedient executors for itself. These are the two main perceived dangers for the initiated reforms.

12635

CSO: 2600/123

# DECLINE OF SOCIAL BENEFITS, SERVICES NOTED

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 24-26 Aug 84 p 3

[Interview with Prof Stanislaw Czaja, director of the Labor and Social Affairs Institute, by Krystyna Doliniak]

[Text] [Question] Simultaneously with the crisis, a thesis has originated about the "super-welfare" state, about services flowing from the generous coffers of the state. From the records of the Main Statistical Office we know, however, that the share of social services in the disposable national income is decreasing. In the light of these facts, therefore, is not this opinion about super-welfarism a misunderstanding?

[Answer] With the worsening of our economic situation, there has been talk in recent years of the welfare state; in a word, from the time we have produced increasingly less and had increasingly less to distribute. It is known that more cannot be distributed than is produced. On the one hand, therefore, one wonders whether the system of social services is not overextended, while on the other social groups requiring assistance have been designated.

I do not know if we are a welfare state, but I do know that we are a socialist state, that is, one which by its very nature must fulfill numerous social functions. No one questions, for example, the advisability of developing such services as health care or education. Financial services, above all, raise doubts: subsidies, annuities and retirement pensions. But in recent years, despite the growth in their nominal amounts and the introduction of new categories, including child-care leaves and compensations, the share of services in the national income did not increase but declined. During 1981 it amounted to 23.5 percent of income and in 1982 to only 22.4 percent, while estimates for last year point to a further decline to about 21.8 percent. One can comment on this fact that it is only so much or that, despite the crisis, it is indeed that much. At this point it is important to consult the statistics of other socialist countries in which the scope of services is similar. In all cases this indicator exceeds 25 percent, and in the GDR, for example, it even approaches 30 percent. It is difficult, therefore, to maintain that we are a leading socialist state in this area.

[Question] Does the institute attempt to evaluate the currently functioning system of services? One often hears the opinion that assistance does not reach those who most require it.

[Answer] Our services are dispersed and consequently not often very effective. In many cases they are even wrongly directed. Of course, I am speaking about purely social services and not about the various privileges of trade groups, which often were and are excessive. Criticism of the overly extended social functions of the state generally is directed toward financial services. Most often this criticism concerns child-care subsidies. However, it is necessary to note that at present increasingly fewer women are benefiting from them. There are two reasons for this: a low, established threshold of revenue allowing for subsidies, which results in the fact that increasingly more families do not receive this assistance, as well as the necessity of "patching up" the family budget. The lowest subsidy now received by the majority of women is not sufficient to maintain them at home.

In evaluating the entire system of services one cannot assert that any type of service is superfluous and can be dispensed with. I believe that in the future all services should be maintained and the majority of them selectively increased, since in recent years they have become so devalued that they slowly are ceasing to fulfill their assigned functions.

Incidental to the welfare role of the state is the fact that the majority of society sees it only in the realm of services. In my opinion, this role is most extended in the production sphere, since often the growth in wages is not at all linked to the output of labor. If, therefore, one speaks about the "super-welfarism" of the state, it is manifested more in irrational employment than in the area of social services.

[Question] Did the package of retirement legislation passed by the Sejm at the end of 1982 meet expectations? The research conducted by the Main Statistical Office last year revealed that a sizable group of retirees lives below the poverty line...

[Answer] Following the new law, old people and the disabled anticipated a lot. It is now known that the law did not meet all expectations, because it could not. First of all, the increase in services was spread over 3 years. During this time wages rose, which worsened the relationship between the average pension and median salaries. In 1982, i.e. prior to revalorization, pensions still amounted to 47.8 percent, while in 1983--after the first phase of revalorization--salaries were 46.5 percent. This year, despite the acceleration of the third phase of liquidating the "old portfolio," these proportions deteriorated even if planned salary growth is maintained. I believe, therefore, that undertaking activities with the goal of restraining these unbeneficial tendencies will be indispensable, because without the introduction of a permanent revalorization of services next year this restraint may turn out to be very difficult.

It is also worthwhile to consider the fact that annually the range between the newly awarded and old pensioners expanded considerably. The difference between them will not liquidate the system of revalorization. And so a gap of a year

and a half will remain, because during this period wages practically doubled and new, higher annuities and pensions were awarded, while the revalorized services remained at the level corresponding to 1982 wages. That the majority of retirees are not faring too well is borne out by the statistical data and the budget research conducted by the Main Statistical Office. It is estimated that about 20 percent, or almost 1 million, pensions and annuities are paid out in minimal amounts. Lower services less than half of average wages are currently received by 81 percent of the disabled and 43 percent of the pensioners, and also by 75 percent of those individuals collecting family annuities. However, high services above the average wage barely amount to 2.5 percent at present, which obviously is incidental to the entire subject.

[Question] In order that the "special umbrella" protect those who are living in a crisis situation with great difficulty, an accurate diagnosis of the living situation of families is needed. The institute was to have been one of three independent institutions researching the so-called social minimum. Is this work still being conducted?

[Answer] The social minimum already has been a factor for a number of years, but become "fashionable" only quite recently. This interest can easily be explained; it is linked to the crisis and the worsening material situation of families. Our institute also receives many letters in this regard from, among others, the party and from trade union organizations, and also from private individuals.

Until 1981 computing the minimum had the character of research work. Afterward, in accord with the resolution of the Council of Ministers in August 1981, we were obliged to calculate annually the level of the social minimum and to present it to the government. In accord with this resolution, the social minimum was to help determine, among other things, the number and structure of families not attaining minimum incomes. The social minimum was also to be considered in establishing the amount of the lowest salaries, pensions and annuities, as well as the formation of the adequate supplying of the marketplace with a standard assortment of goods and services.

[Question] One often hears the thesis that the crisis increased inequality....

[Answer] The crisis certainly increased inequality among social groups. For example, in 1983 the average salary in the budget sphere amounted to 14,430 zlotys, while in the material production sphere it was 15,203 zlotys. Therefore, the disproportion between the production and financial spheres increased on account of the budget. We already have spoken about the decline in the value of pensions and annuities in relation to wages. It is very difficult to assess the situation of other groups, which include farmers and private entrepreneurs. These are very internally diversified groups. The incomes of some of them undoubtedly grew, but also a sizable number of them could have suffered as a result of the crisis.

[Question] Sociologists are familiar with the concept of the so-called threshold effect, or the preservation of the level of consumption already attained. In the initial years of the crisis the majority of families passively protected themselves, counting on additional services. Presently more families have expressed interest in supplement employment. How do you evaluate these changes in attitude?

[Answer] The threshold effect did not end in 1982, but also appeared last year and is still operative. Some families consistently relied on savings and assistance from the state, their families and friends. Some continue to receive care packages. Retirees, above all, are draining their savings. A large number of families receive social welfare assistance, particularly those with many children and those maintaining themselves with services from the Social Security Agency. Many people have also engaged in supplemental employment. However, there are those who cannot count on any assistance and who cannot work on account of age, their health or family situation. For this latter category of families, engaging in supplemental employment cannot, therefore, be an economic constraint upon which vital means of support are dependent.

12569

CS0: 2600/1301

POLAND

CRISIS IN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM ALLEVIATED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13-14 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview of Prof Bronislaw Ratus, director of the Department of Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee by Piotr Rządca: "National Education Is Everybody's Business"]

[Text] [Question] It is said that our educational system is going through a crisis. I believe that the view that it came to a turning point is closer to the truth. In the past 40 years, it carried out its quantitative task, elevating the level of education of all of society to a scale unknown in the past. But today that is simply not enough...

[Answer] It is true that education attained its quantitative apogee, and is confronted at present by the task of deeper, qualitative changes connected with new needs of the national economy and culture, with the challenge of modern civilization. Work is continuing on the prospects of national education. It will be expedited by the plenary session of the party Central Committee planned for the coming year.

The qualitative changes have already been started; this, of course, is the significance of the curriculum reform in basic education and work on modernizing the next level of schooling. More rapid progress in this respect is inhibited by the fact that education must always deal with the effects of the economic crisis. The inadequacies in the school base are universally known. Nor was the stress of demographic pressure anticipated. A government program for improving the material base of education, adopted in May of this year is counteracting these difficulties as is, obviously, the initiative of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in making education the concern of all the people.

Making qualitative changes in education requires overcoming many barriers and this is where the efforts of political and state authorities are concentrated. For example, in connection with demographic pressure and the introduction of the teacher's card, the need for massive additional training for young teachers has arisen again since schools today are forced to employ persons who have not completed their higher education. In 1982, implementing the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress, the Sejm adopted a law on the teacher's card. From every standpoint, this was a proper and indispensable solution. But decreasing the number of instruction hours had to result in

personnel problems since every positive solution also has its side effects.

In my opinion, in attempts at qualitative changes, we should take advantage first of noninvestment reserves for improving education: all of those that can bring the school closer to the child and at the same time promote his well-rounded development. These reserves can be found, for example, in the work of classroom teachers. This function is carried out by the majority of teachers, but they are not specifically prepared for it. We must, therefore, give them immediate and effective help, create a methodology for classroom teaching, bring this problem area into the training of future teachers in institutions of higher learning.

A creative approach on the part of pedagogical councils, youth organizations, and other institutions to the country-wide educational program that the educational system requires would make it possible to make this program specific and adapted to the conditions of operation of every school, and, would in this way intensify pedagogical effects. But here more effective help for the teachers on the part of scientific educational personnel and education authorities, committees and party organizations is necessary.

We know the voices critical with respect to certain teaching programs. I believe that in the course of preparation for the Central Committee plenary meeting that I have mentioned, we must consider what needs to be changed and take advantage of social postulates and the results of studies by scientific institutes as well as experience of teachers to make those programs more realistic and not so overloaded. Speeding the production of school handbooks also requires careful attention.

An important reserve that we must exploit as soon as possible is the rebuilding of the connections between workplaces and the schools. These have been broken in recent years, to the detriment of both sides. Thus the initiative for its rebuilding must come from both the school and from the social forces in these plants, mutually interested in creating a proper educational environment.

Qualitative changes in education would also be promoted by a cooperation, deeper than it has been, between parents and the school. For should not parents be interested in the goals of the school, what it is teaching and how it is educating? Meanwhile, the educational goals of the school are little known to the parents; cooperation between parents and teachers continues to be of a limited character; this does not promote a more rapid resolution of school problems and mutual support in the work of education.

Also needed is the management of free Saturdays by the school forces and its associates in order to enrich the opportunities for development of interests and talents of the pupils. I have enumerated only a few examples to illustrate what kind of reserves are in question here. Others might be added, such as developing pedagogical innovativeness of teachers, enriching the offerings youth organization programs, reorganizing various kinds of extra-curricular activities, placing greater emphasis on pupils' self-government,

etc. The initiative, however, must come from the teachers.

[Question] Meanwhile the critical voices concerning this continue. There are many soundly based complaints, but also many harmful opinions. The latter even predominate...

[Answer] Isolated, negative incidents must not be generalized to the throng of a half-million teachers. I believe, moreover, that this group will itself be able most effectively to rid itself of haphazard, irresponsible people. It is evident from many sources that the opinion party and state authorities have of the teaching profession is exceptionally positive because teachers try most conscientiously to carry out their responsibilities under difficult conditions. I would like to stress that of all institutions, following all the disturbances of recent years, the school returned most rapidly to a normal pattern of work. Also, we must not forget that more than 50 percent of the teachers are involved in higher education for accreditation, that with respect to numbers, this is the best organized workers group among trade unions, that 27 percent of teachers are card-carrying party members.

Obviously, there are problems that must be solved. One of them is that the youngest group of teachers needs careful attention so that highly qualified and ideologically active teachers might emerge from it more quickly. There are cases in this group of deep ideological dissension, to which everyone has a right of course. But I must say that a teacher who does not have an unequivocally positive attitude toward the principal values of socialism does great harm to his pupils who will be developing socialism. And at the same time, he is not fulfilling the duties entrusted to him by the state.

[Question] The decline in the authority of the teacher and the school is a disquieting phenomenon. I believe that we should all work against this together in the interests of society.

[Answer] Our greatest national treasure is in the hands of the teachers. Whoever does not appreciate their work and responsibility, does harm not only to the pupils themselves, but also to the country. We have analyzed the causes of the decline in the school's authority and we are actively trying to counteract the false views and to strengthen this authority. We know that a decrease in the prestige of the school is due, for instance, to an unsuccessful structural reform that envisioned a 10-year school. The authority of teachers was decreased during the period of progressive pauperization of this professional group. This process of pauperization was actually broken by the teacher's card. Today our teachers are no longer threatened by being left far behind in their material situation with respect to other comparable socially responsible professional workers because every year there will be a valorization of their salaries. The Polish Teachers' Union has been striving for this for years. Our party took an identical position at its Ninth Congress.

We must also remember that during the period of bitter political strife, the opponents of socialist Poland purposely attacked the school in order to negate

its tremendous achievement, the contribution of the teachers to the accomplishments of the country. The school was discredited in order to attack the state. Great harm was done by these incidents of carrying the battle to the school walls, dividing the teachers, exploiting the youth to embroil educational centers, attempts to break the legal basis of the school's secularity.

At the same time, I believe that at present the prestige of the school is growing, and this will take place all the more rapidly, the more fundamentally the school transforms itself qualitatively owing to the creative activity of the teachers, but also more productive help of its associates.

[Question] An inseparable part of national education is our higher education in which important processes of change are also taking place. I have in mind academic self-government. Much hope rests in introducing self-government into the educational institutions. There is hope that because of this, there will be an added feeling of civic responsibility, an awakening of ambitions that the intellectual resources of the academic community will serve the country as best they can. But the question arises, will self-government as a form of democratic management of the higher institutions of learning and a means of freeing all the positive values that rest in this community bring the expected social effects right now?

[Answer] Higher education actually attained a wide range of self-government as a result of effective implementation of the resolutions of the party's Ninth Congress. Thus far it has not been necessary for the political and state administrations to negate this power. Great efforts are being made to allow self-government to develop in the interests of the state and the academic community, many academic party organizations stand in defense of these solutions that were adopted in a Sejm law.

If I say that we stand in defense of self-government, it means at the same time that it is being undermined by those groups or individuals that would want to exploit it for purposes contrary to the civil and social character of the higher school. "Self-government" that leads to breaking the spirit of the law, disregarding the constitution of the Polish Peoples Republic and enticing youth to opposition activity cannot be tolerated. For this reason the postulates of the educational party organizations are aimed at ensuring the keeping of the spirit of the law, and for higher education, defending its ideopolitical content, guaranteeing the state character of academic schools and a more effective implementation of the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress in this sphere.

We are impelled in these activities by incidents that must arouse anxiety. For example, let us consider the minutes of meetings of certain student self-governments and certain senates or their commissions. In their discussions, was there a preponderance of matters connected with scientific investigation, education and development of students, prospects of development of their own institutions, with what could be done to overcome the effects of the crisis in the country, what must be done so as not to broaden the technological gap between our country and other countries? In some institutions,

unfortunately, no; predominant sometimes were opposition speeches, extreme, emotional and antistate.

I want to stress as strongly as possible that the above comments cannot be generalized to apply to all Polish higher schools. But centers unfriendly to socialist Poland industriously exploit every incident and every occasion to sow confusion and anarchization in academic life. Also, greater respect and recognition should be given to those academic centers, workers in education and students who are intent on having the higher schools fulfill their service function with respect to the people and the socialist Polish state.

I believe that those forces that want education to take its proper place in the life of the country and to serve the country well are growing stronger in educational institutions. The positive side of academic self-government is expressed in this. I also believe that introducing self-government is not a one-time act, but that it is a social process that also demands theoretical working out and constant improvement.

[Question] In concluding our conversation, I would like to ask you to tell the readers about the work of the department in matters that may be important for all teachers.

[Answer] I will begin by denying the rumor that the teacher's card will be allegedly changed. I know that no proposal has been made to change this law in either the Central Committee or in the government. There is, on the other hand, the decision of the Council of Ministers ensuring the possibility of consecutive pay advancement for 32 and 34 years of teaching. The rumor of which I speak has a clearly diversionary character and is an attempt to provoke tension in the schools.

I would encourage teachers to intellectual activity centered on preparation for the plenary discussions of the Central Committee, both on the subject of national education and on the role of the intelligentsia in the building of socialism. We are counting very much on the participation of teachers in consultation on documents being prepared for these plenary meetings.

We are also counting on all party organizations of educational institutions, teachers and friends of the school for active support of the slogan of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth: "People for the School." We hope that this year, on National Education Day, there will be born a new tradition of simultaneously expressing respect for our teachers and broad support of the whole community in resolving the problems of the school.

From party organizations of educational institutions we expect exerted efforts toward strengthening the educational function of the higher school. At the same time, we would wish to help them, together with the provincial party committees, in developing the best concepts of party activity under the conditions of every educational institution. The department will also support appropriate agencies and institution authorities in the matter of developing plans and programs of the higher schools. At the same time, we believe that

the conference of representatives of social studies being prepared this year will help educational institutions toward a better presentation of socio-political subjects.

In this academic year, together with party organizations in educational institutions, we will be getting ready for the actual participation in the process of preparing for the Third Congress on Polish Education and its resolutions. Having an appropriate list of concerns already, we would like to resolve certain problems even before this congress.

We always return to the resolution of the Ninth Congress and to resolutions of the 9th, 12th, and 16th Plenums of the Central Committee in order to make a running analysis of the state of their implementation in the education centers and in the higher schools. We would like party organizations of schools and educational institutions also to make such evaluations of what has been accomplished and which tasks require diligent effort. For not everything depends on central authority.

\* \* \* \* \*

[Interviewer] I believe that this reflection will remain before us all today and tomorrow on National Education Day when we will sincerely thank Polish teachers for their work, when we will wish them new satisfaction in this responsible task and at the same time consider how we can better help them so that this satisfaction might be even greater and troubles might continuously decrease.

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## VIDEO REVOLUTION ARRIVES IN POLAND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 45, 10 Nov 84 pp 1,4,9

[Article by Anna Matalowska: "Loophole Into Paradise"]

[Text] Wherever people are buying magnetic video players, someone is making a profit. No one has ever counted how much of this equipment there really is. If we look in our own communities, we will always find someone who already has one. In smaller towns, it still is not so easy to admit ownership (and knowing my compatriots, I would prefer not). The customs bureau has still not prepared any statistics but they give various figures such as 30,000, 50,000, or 100,000. The fact of the matter is that despite the difficulty of travelling abroad, the customs bureau has suddenly demanded duties for such devices.

A video player is a box about the size of a Polish reel-to-reel tape recorder. If it is plugged in and hooked up to a television it can record and play back programs. This unusually complicated device looks very simple to work on and operate but is essentially the same thing as a Polish Television camera van because an easily operated hand-held camera can be hooked up to it.

NEWSWEEK illustrated its article on the world video revolution with photographs of a family enjoying video in a swimming pool, on the beach and among southern gardens. This family just seems to have decided to relax by watching a film at this very moment. In a certain Polish weekly, every time a certain author has taken a dive into the cesspool of moral degeneration, we have seen an orgy party with a porno video. Polish video lies somewhere between these two extremes: thus, the crisis and the permanent lack of hit movies from around the world, the dull and boring programs on television and the possibility that not a small number of people have access to video units all add up to the growth of video. Artistic programs as well as pop culture are becoming the domain of video. It is already true that for a song to become a hit, it must not only be recorded but a video must be produced as well. On the other hand, video can become an intimate form of communication too. Some artists have already tried to use video to record their visions and sounds for display in a small gallery. Such efforts have also been made in Poland however no artist has used that technique to express himself. For the time being, video is mainly used to record and

play back films, television programs, lectures and generally everything that can be recorded.

Let us start from the end, in other words, with Pewex, which sold about 2000 video players in 1983. Who buys them in Pewex? Those who are truly unable to travel abroad because they do not know anyone there or that can afford to pay nearly 300 dollars more for a unit from Pewex.

"The film is in the German version," said our man in the lobby of the Hotel Forum, "maybe you will be able to understand it."

A group of about 30, in other words Pewex salesmen from all over Poland, holding JVC shopping bags and folders stand pressed into a solid mass and stare at JVC video players. On the screen is seen a blond Charlie doll, something between Kermit the Frog and an embryo in a red bowtie, adapters, tuners, equalizers. Everything glistens and plays, the salesmen shift from one foot to another and a few manage to take seats near shelves between the laser disc players and tape recorders with computer memories.

The video equipment will be demonstrated manually because this is an exhibit for salesmen who may later need to tell clients what is what.

How do we hook up that device? Above all, we must plug it into the socket and then turn it on. We are in the banquet hall and from the other side of a wooden partition we hear the jingle of tableware and kitchen noises. To hook up the television with the player, we look for an illustration for help if we have any trouble...at the back of the group, people are moving toward the doors. The video player is ready. Under a table with catalogues, we see advertisement shopping bags. "You won't learn much if you stand here," said A. Chedynski, the director of the JVC Victor Company of Japan and the group moves closer to the player. "This is an opportunity to see how these players work so please ask questions," says the JVC man, "because your clients will want to know...".

One of the players interested a woman, who like Charlie in the instructional film had a polka-dot bowtie and distinguished herself earlier by noticing that none of the companies at the exhibit had with them the equalizer demonstrated in the film. Clients ask how a soccer match can be recorded without having to sit in front of the television until midnight. The question was asked by a man who later turned out to be an engineer. Aside from this, everyone wanted to know where the delegations had travelled and then left to eat.

A salesman from Pewex says: "I have come back from London. I was able to look over the market which is unlike any other in the West: there is great competition. The English are crazy on the subject of equipment and video. We are inclined to believe that you can buy a VCR there for 300 dollars. Let's imagine a shop like many others side by side on Tottenham Road. Enormous competition. Let's say that a fellow in one shop sells 100 VCR's and has 10 left. The company knows that a new model will be introduced this year and he doesn't want to be left with the 10 old models. What does he do? He quickly puts out a 'crazy price' advertisement and he really does sell them for a crazy

price. This is how you can sometimes buy units cheaper. The pricing policy in Poland is to keep them more or less on the same price level as they are on the West German or French market. That is where our people most often go. Just why do we buy our VCR's from these firms? We must have guarantees, repair equipment, replace it after 14 days or return the customer's money. The whole problem is with service. Unfortunately, as a country which is 10 years or more behind in electronics we are unable to repair such new devices. Organizations such as Unitra still cannot service VCR's so we buy them from firms that guarantee relatively good quality and are willingly to provide some service."

Just to make things even better, a player that works quite well in Warsaw is worthless in Gdansk. There are complaints that the picture jumps around. What is happening? There is a slightly different frequency on the Baltic Coast or in Kielce. Equipment is being produced now which can broaden the frequency range of video players and these are the sort of additional costs that a client knows nothing about.

People that make money selling video equipment say that anyone with a passport knows that they should be bought in West Germany and in places where the shops are well supplied. The price difference can be as much as 300 dollars.

It is also worth going to an airport if a charter plane from somewhere like Libya is landing and see what people are toting in.

In the classified ads section of every issue of ZYCIE WARSZAWY there are always several such advertisements: "Hitachi VCR, UHS T 33, new" or "AKAI VCR US3EV Pal Secam UHS, new".

At bazaars and fairs throughout the country video players cost as much as 300,000 zlotys, a little cheaper in Gdansk.

Aside from this, there are a small number of firms advertising in newspapers that operate the same way as Pewex by offering a guarantee and service but that sell the units a little cheaper. There is a slight difference, however, and that is that they sit you down at a little table, show you catalogues and very patiently explain what everything is and how it works. Even if that does not bring in any extra money it does make the buyer feel better.

The player is only a third of the game. Once someone has bought the unit, he must have something to watch. People are therefore looking for cassettes and other owners that might have them. People are beginning to invite each other over for viewings and trade or loan cassettes. There has emerged a circle of close and distant acquaintances that refers to itself as the video community.

The video community very quickly learns when someone has a new cassette, who rents them, who will let you copy their films, where there is a lending library and how it operates. A resourceful group has very quickly exchanged this information and this is how the video business came into being.

### An Entertainment Center in the Living Room

All of this is becoming known through the world as the video revolution. It is known of from Switzerland where by 1990 every third home will have a VCR to India, where the news reports of a Hindu priest at the temple of Birla in Delhi who complains that people no longer come to evening prayers because they have found a new god in video. Smugglers in Australia who once made a living from illegal gold imports gave that up a long time ago for video. A Yugoslav firm tells its compatriots that "...video opens up to you a completely new world: it gives you a home entertainment center in your living room..."

There are not living rooms and it is still a long way to the revolution but we do have our own video market. People are so receptive to what is happening around them that, like Poles, they had to buy them quickly.

A person involved in the video business said: "This is the most convenient world cinema, right in my home when I want it and have the time. Wherever video is one of many means of getting information and all are quite rich, time is what matters most. Instead of going to the movie theater, you can buy four cassettes and see two on Sunday and two the next day. A neighbor might have other films so you can trade with him and when you go to visit friends you can leave the children with a four-hour Donald Duck cassette".

Someone feels free to say that: "I saw opening of the Olympics. On Saturday I can go to a birthday party. It does not matter that the film 'Earthquake' is on television because my eldest child will record it while watching the ninth chapter of a serial on another channel. No one can tell me what is too violent, has too much nudity or is bad for me."

Video players are now owned by artists and workers returning from contract work abroad, engineers and owners of vegetable booths, students and a village in Nowy Sacz province.

Foreign firms are giving every proverbial penny to find out how private lending libraries are operated.

One said: "We were the first to try to arrange everything from a to z honestly and legally and that we lost three years doing so. The whole thing began to fall apart because of trivia. There are no proper rules and we must make them up as we go. So we did that for a year and a half, two years and asked them to think of anything that would make it possible to open up a shop with 100 titles. What titles? There is the censor to think about and the director of the programming department and there is still the instinct for self-preservation of people who put money into a film lending library that and will not loan out films like "Caligula" or one that shows two black men with a white woman because they fear they will lose their concession. I do not want to show you the gesture they make. This is the result: the police have other problems to worry about and they don't have the time to track down rogues that are making a fortune."

Private video cassette lending libraries function as clubs. The membership is limited to however many is really needed and the owner knows that if you are not recommended by an acquaintance he will quickly get rid of you. A lending

library is so well known that it needs no advertising. One sees a door dyed red, the owner is moving around, it is late after 11:00 p.m. and a film is running. The membership rules are a nonrefundable entrance fee of 1000 zlotys and another 1000 to rent one cassette for two days and any late return will be treated as rental for the next day. The cassettes may not be copied and they are to be rewound. The third place on table of contents reads "Caligula, parts I and II". It does not matter whether it is the English or German version and the owner washes his hands of the rules.

Lending libraries do not all function according to the same rules. One may require a subscription of 3000 zlotys or 6 films per month. It is hard to speak about money because it can be 1000, 500 or 2000 zlotys per film. It is all up to the owner.

Strangers are unwelcome and are treated with suspicion.

Some persons are not granted permission to operate a lending library. Those that are allowed to do so are said to have good contacts.

The video revolution reached us through a loophole and has begun to take off on its own. It grew up among people who have done well from this business as long as a few bureaus have been unaware of what is going on. The business has grown freely and uncontrolled.

"Video cassettes are regarded as no one's product," says a legal advisor of the Supreme Directorate of Cinematography [NZK]. "The films on stock in lending libraries usually bear a receipt showing that they were purchased abroad (article of foreign origin answers the question of where the cassette came from and the co-owner is Audio-Video), but they are intended for private use only and this is written at the start of every film. The right to public presentation was not purchased by the producer and the law profits all the more from this. This would cost not several hundred but at least several thousand dollars and no one has yet bought a private license."

According to the owner of a would-be lending library:

"In order to operate legitimately, we negotiated for a long time to sign a contract with the Union of Actors and Theatrical Composers [ZAiKS]. This was done step by step and month by month so that everything would be legal. At the same time, people were making a fortune without having to pay a penny of taxes. I now have written permission to operate and I would have to be suicidal to start off with a film like "The Crusaders". Someone might ask: 'Why do you have that film? Give us a good western'. But I had to do this in order to sign a contract with some kind-hearted Film Polski which has a monopoly. It is not so important that I have to pay, that I have to give some of my money to ZAiKS and Film Polski. I can hear what they would say: 'You know that we have other problems.' After all, I can handle this through official, state, cooperative or even private video lending libraries. You just have to get your hands out of your pockets."

Like student clubs, lending libraries pay ZaiKS. The question arises of how

much and who is paid. ZAiKS represents no one according to the NZK which knows of no case in which a license was purchased from a western distributor.

Pewex also wanted to introduce film cassettes (we feel that this would be a lot of money which is getting away but that is the monopoly of Film Polski and for this reason we can buy educational films). Who is buying them? There is a fat briefcase full of correspondence on this problem. Here are fragments from some of Pewex's letters from last month. On 5 July, they wrote: "In reference to your letter of last February, we request that you that you send the special offers on recorded video discs promised in our April letter". On 28 August: "In response to your letter, we would like to inform you that Film Polski has not purchased the rights to distribute in video tape from any film produced in a socialist country. We have learned that the largest American distributors are not planning to sell video rights in the near future to socialist countries."

The Polish video community uses prices in West German marks and mainly imports video players and cassettes. Cassettes can already be purchased for 18 West German marks and rented out, unfortunately with no return in those same lending libraries. The rich selection of cheap stolen cassettes is offered to our people by specialized thieves. Arab-produced cassettes brought over by people who have worked for a few years and returned with their own private videolibraries are also cheaper. During radio music broadcasts, there is a video corner with information that video cassettes should not be purchased (for about 10,000 zlotys) at bazaars because it is not known what sort of condition they are in.

Weddings, baptisms, family events filmed to order

Who has video films made of themselves?

The intelligentsia least of all, perhaps because they are too poor or see little importance in this type of souvenir, professional craftsmen make videos themselves ( a video camera costs about 800 dollars) and there are many workers that have learned about video players abroad. One man ordered a video film of his daughter's wedding (for about 10,000 zlotys, as much as a set of color wedding pictures) although he did not own a player. After two, maybe three years, they are planning to own one and they cannot repeat a wedding of this kind. Someone else wants to film their child as it grows from month to month (5000 zlotys for 15 minutes) and there was a telephone caller asking whether they make nude advertisements (please come in and we'll talk about it), and finally there was a video tape of a wedding in Tarnow which was sent to a family in Australia. There were orders for a wedding in the mountains ("We rally wanted to go there, everyone was eager but there was no gasoline and no car").

With the first advertisement for video souvenir tapes, the telephones were ringing off their hooks and eager people were coming in. After the second advertisement, a client came in and said that there was a man on Odrowaza Street who would make the films for half the price. He advertises on little blue cards passed from hand to hand: video services, Warsaw, telephone...

A video-businessman complains: "Registered firms provide the usual competition

but there are so many upstarts: someone's brother bought him a video camera and player abroad and he wants to make 100,000 zlotys in one year. If I charge 10,000 zlotys for a film, he charges 5000 and he's the one that gets the work."

A video souvenir tape brings in too little money to make a pension. Video service proposes:

VIDEO COMMERCIALS, promotions, instruction.

VIDEO RECORDING of symposia, meetings, technological processes, etc.

VIDEO DOCUMENTATION of weddings, baptisms, anniversaries, family events, etc.

VIDEO PROMOTION of artists and groups.

VIDEO LETTERS to families abroad.

VIDEO-CONCERT OF GOOD WISHES for workers in other countries as well as  
VIDEOKINO

VIDEO SOUVENIRS of trips to Poland

Video service for athletes

Video Service for FILM-MAKERS.

To do well in this business, it is necessary to have strong partners such as the Foreign Trade Center, the Bureau of Tourism and anyone else who might be a useful contact in the video world. And these firms are submerged in an atmosphere of private firms. In any case, it is hard to talk to them. They are private firms and as such they must be a little crooked but maybe you would like to bring someone else into the partnership... Talks with the foreign trade center all begin with explanations of what video is and end with the question of whether the work cannot be done both on video and on film. Advertising people going to fairs take terrible projectors and screens and they do not have enough imagination to put into their briefcases a cassette little larger than a tape recorder.

#### The Reader Lisps Or His Tongue Falters

The video business is divided into the official or legal side which we are assured to function in a manner entirely moderate and the underground which makes a lot of money.

The films on the video market are read in their original versions, frequently German or Polish, by a reader. Legitimate firms are often called upon by persons for help in establishing video libraries. These persons are interested in recorded dialogues, copying a greater number of cassettes. How much does this cost? One client said that he could do this himself for 2500 zlotys (reading through, recording and editing of the text). In these types of operations, the firm is required by rules to notify the censor about the film.

The underground market operates without any official help or services. It does not matter to them that the reader lisps or falters. But for two thousand...

From unofficial listings: translation of film dialogues, two, three thousand ("I have a colleague who claims that he has translated 2000 films").

-- Film copying -- 1000 zlotys.

-- film rental from a private individual -- 500 zl.

-- In ZYCIE WARSZAWY: "Express tuning of Jowisz, Rubin, Sony, Wenus and western-brand video players; guarantee, reasonable prices, ATVC-video, tune-up, one-day service"; "authorized Mitsubishi video tune-up service" -- 5 to 15 thousand zlotys.

Anyone wanting to make fast money takes a video player and a television and travels around Poland. He travels through villages and small towns and talks to the directors of clubs and culture palaces. People pay 100-200 zlotys to see illegal showings of James Bond, karate and Emmanuelle movies. One hundred persons at 100 zlotys each comes to 10,000 zlotys per film with 20,000 zlotys for an evening of two films. It is a matter of turnover. You pass the hat and put everything into your pockets.

Can a Minister Play the Fool?

At bus and tram stops in the city, on doors and in the elevators of large housing settlements, on lamp-posts and village fire stations there are posters everywhere:

Video Stars: 1. James Bond in the film "Moonraker" starring Roger Moore; 2. "The Yellow Dragon -- Kung-Fu Fighting"; 3. "The Tin Drum".

At the NZK, they say that if any of the distributors went to the trouble of taking down these posters, there would be no explanation. Housing block clubs rent players (6000 zlotys per showing, which includes an operator) and show to people on the peripheries of the city and culture what a Londoner or Parisian could see at the movies. This has opened wide another loophole. After four more years of the Polish video boom, black clouds have begun to gather.

A legitimate firm was approached by a woman who had spent three years travelling through Poland with a video player in the trunk of her car. Foreseeing trouble, she wants to be employed in a related business.

Representatives of the Ministry of Culture say: "We can no longer pretend that we do not see these things. Distributors refuse to sell us films that can be copied on video because they say there video piracy is officially tolerated and that the state is not responsive to this problem. We bought some good films such as Spielberg's 'ET' which has already been available for some time in cassette form. The Bern Convention for copyright protection asked us about audiovisual piracy in a very thorough questionnaire. We had a lot of difficulty answering. After all, the minister cannot play the fool."

Video piracy is fought everywhere. This is done by the state in France while in England, there are private associations and special services that are trying to catch pirates. The film-makers and distributors form associations and spent much money to combat this problem. They also make much money but no one has succeeded in liquidating video piracy. An August issue of NEWSWEEK estimates that one-third of the cassettes available on the British market are pirate copies. In Italy, the figure is 40 percent and "ET" was available there on

cassettes before it even reached the movie theaters.

The atmosphere in which public views on video films are exchanged is more or less that "video's popularity is growing in leaps and bounds, video gives access to mass culture but there are some bureaucrats that do not like it therefore they try to hinder it".

An electronics student said: "I saw a discussion in very calm company and people became very angry. Every time some fat bureaucrat came and said that it is finished, that no student club will be allowed to show videos".

A legal advisor for the NZK said, "people come to us and say that we must explain ourselves, that we are doing something wrong and holding up the spread of culture. But that is not what we are doing: we have to deal with mass violations of copyright laws. Can government organs allow such overt violations?"

The officials of a video club say: "A film lasts an hour and some minutes or an hour and a half. If the club wants to show a film legally, it gets permission for a longer period of time. We send a letter to the Department of Culture which may or may not reply and then we write to the Bureau of Publications and Performance Control". In reference to a teledisc with a song about this world, which is bad, the students were told: "Western propaganda tries to reach us in any way possible, such an innocent teledisc with so much to say..."

"What are we going to talk about?" the representatives of the Ministry of Culture asked a lady editor who invited them to her studios for a discussion. "The conversation will somehow fall into place for us," she answered before the recording was started. There were also invited some members of the student videoclub who say that they were attacked for being counter-revolutionaries.

The students made a lot of noise about this. Everything went well until the minister of culture sent a letter to the provincial governor. Did the minister forbid further video showings? He wrote: "Since you do not know, I am informing you that the laws in this matter are the following..."

Probably the most emotion was aroused by the last point of the letter: "...we ask you to take actions to determine whether the video lending libraries are operating in accordance with the above-named laws and to eventually verify any authorizations you may issue."

Unfortunately, the fact of the matter is that the quickest and easiest method would be to prohibit and liquidate lending libraries.

Someone approaches the owner of a private cassette lending library and advises him to liquidate his business because he is going to have problems. In Silesia, one man invested two million zlotys in equipment, a viewing room and seating. He wanted to show karate films. After two weeks, his permission was revoked. "Do I have to show what's playing in the theaters?" he asked, "No one will come anymore."

The NZK's position is that the laws on film turnover on our market be followed. This is so that there will be no legal cases in court. However, the regulations state that Film Polski buys the films and that the Film Distribution Company distributes them.

In this way, the state's cultural policy is realized.

This must have led to the statement that "...video cassette lending libraries conduct activities in violation of the rights of film producer and distributor as well as of copyrights. Therefore, these activities are to be regarded as illegal."

In discussion on this subject, we hear the argument that the culture served us is specifically selected. Video has avoided this control. People look at what they want to see because they cannot see much good in the movie theaters. People invite their friends and friends of friends over for video. An invitation "for video" seems to be a specific attribute of Polish life and product of sick thinking is the idea that there is only one purpose for such a video invitation: "...They expected something more than just drunkenness and porno films on videocassette."

"May God help them!" Comments a Video Businessman

The video business therefore feels threatened. The bureaucrats want to introduce regulations and rules for a particular purpose.

Representatives of the Ministry of Culture defend themselves by asserting that video cannot be touched because it is necessary to us.

The refer to a passage from an official document in favor of video libraries: "...The private video clubs support the existing network of movie theaters in small towns and in neighborhoods in which there is limited access to movies. It is also worthwhile to support circuit activity on the basis of a circuit theater showing videocassette films".

State-owned lending libraries will be established in five cities: Warsaw, Katowice, Gdansk, Szczecin and Krakow.

"May God grant them good fortune," said a video businessman. "I would not want to take part in a venture that does not have a two-percent chance of success."

In a private video library they say that there will be three more of these businesses on the same street but that they will not hurt the business any because the demand is so great.

Film libraries with Polish films? That's funny. Who will want to see these films? The NZK assures us that these libraries will be able to get good films. They will have a whole series of films intended for home use only and for that reason be no different from the private video libraries.

The needs and possibilities of the people will, however, outstrip the abilities

of the state organizers to meet them. Even if they manage to take advantage of international film clubs with film packages for use by the year or buy films from distributors that work only on the cheaper video market, there will still be a feeling of mistrust for such enterprises. People will ask if that is really the original version of the film that they are seeing. People will say that there are differences between the principle by which films for home viewing are accepted and those for public showing. Video: titles that can be read in the listings of private lending libraries.

Television will be showing the serial "Shogun".

"With the famous Richard Chamberlain. I have already seen that film along with a video player brought into Poland in order to bring control technology up to the level of progress being made throughout the world," says a Customs Bureau inspector. The same inspector also saw "Cleopatra", "Gandhi", "Gone With the Wind" and Polanski films because these are the ones that are sent to the bureau.

If the inspector sees that Marlon Brando is in a film, he does not allow it into Poland so that such an esteemed actor not take part in a pornographic film.

There is no danger of that.

There is, on the other hand, a danger of over-filming. The person who brought the cassette into Poland can copy over it himself or he can pay to have it done. The recording technique is very varied. Sometimes, there is a break in the middle of a film and this break contains porno. There have been cases in which a cartoon cassette for children was interrupted in the middle by porno or street-fighting.

When the inspector sees well-known film titles such as those of Polanski he still checks them because his experiences have taught him that cassettes do not always contain what is shown in the shops.

He said: "The titles are deceptive and I would be naive to believe them. I do trust people, of course, but I check the cassettes."

The talk around town is that the customs people are checking for porno but that poses no problems. Out of every 300 cassettes, less than 10 percent are held as pornography. Mostly cowboy, adventure, police (the American police, of course) and mafia movies (much about all of the mafia big-shots are brought into Poland.

According to statistics, a small number of cassettes are registered by customs inspectors (in one customs point there were 259 in April, 60 in May and 125 in June) but there is a duty of 500 zlotys per cassette and everyone must declare them. Inspectors hold films on the basis of article 13 of the customs law which reads: "Prohibited is the import, export and transport of information in print or any other form of recording or communication that is harmful to the interests of the Polish People's Republic. It is also prohibited to import, export or transport any other objects that may serve purposes conflicting with

the good and interests of the Polish People's Republic".

Therefore, everything that is against the interests of Poland is perfectly clear to an inspector, but he also has instructions and the help of the Main Customs Bureau.

According to one inspector: "Nothing is done according to what I think: if it were up to me, I would let them through but if I were more prudent, I would hold them."

A decision by the Customs Bureau may be appealed to the Main Customs Bureau or the Administrative Court. The regulation states that a cassette may be held in customs for a month but sometimes they are held for longer than that. The inspector that views the films there holds a part-time position. At the customs point that I visited, cassettes were lying in opened cartons between the desks of customs officials and from my conversation there I learned that they had the videos too.

Is It Worse Than I Think?

Video businessmen feel that all of the official views on video are minimalistic.

According to one: "Anyone that I try to talk seriously with about this subject is either so far removed from video or from any real knowledge of the needs for wholes that it seems funny. But it would be enough to associate the simplicity of video with satisfaction of elementary cultural needs. If he cannot imagine that that is a movie theater without investment, that it can be a center of culture and learning without an investment, then it is worse than I thought."

A certain lady that once made a cassette recording on childbirth wanted to make a video cassette on the same subject which would be available throughout the rest of Poland which seems to be somewhat different from Poland. Everyone laughed.

There was a proposal to license anyone in rural areas having some connection to culture and money who could invest and get a license for circuit theaters. Why not?

Two years ago, the minister of culture received a proposition from the Konsuprod firm. It offered to establish a video library in every school. "Our intention is that within 5 years, all of the 20,000 Polish schools in existence will have video players and libraries will all of the necessary video learning aids [illegible word] spend about 40 million dollars. In the country's economic situation, that sum is unrealistic...A realistic variant would be to ask for the help of responsible agencies at the United Nations. These same agencies have often patronized educational experiments. There is also an opportunity to purchase this equipment for zlotys from our own firms under the condition that the money made in this way can be used by us to buy export products".

Two years later, an experiment is underway in two provinces. The Minister of Education received video players from UNESCO and these were sent to villages in Poznan province. The video players are to include a mini-library of 5 cassettes on 5 various subjects. Half of the cassette space would be left empty for teacher use. Since UNESCO liked the idea of equalizing the disproportion in education between the cities and the countryside, it has provided Poland with the video players. In 40 schools, there will be workrooms with the new technical resources and we will then tell the children about Iceland, for example. What makes Iceland special for children? You do not know? Have you seen geysers? No? The teacher has video films of geysers in Ciechocinek, for example, and plays them for the children and this stirs their imaginations.

Mr Peters of Munich has conducted business with us for years and has offered 15 video players for Zamosc province. In this way we will be able to see whether video players in villages give the children there something more than a teacher with a globe. The third province to be involved in this experiment will be Nowy Sacz which will receive Polish-made MTV-50's. The Ministry of Education says that this is being done so that no one will accuse of looking for handouts abroad and taking what we can get. According to the terms of the contract, the video players were to be supplied by the Kasprzak plant in 1983. One year later, we received 21 units, 16 of which immediately had to go into repair. They were so good that they did not work but despite the poor start the organizers of the experiment hope that the domestically-produced players will operate well under the difficult mountain conditions, especially since the Kasprzak plant has already poured about 5000 dollars into a so-called hard currency investment for this technological wonder. The Ministry of Education itself is well aware of the fact that these gifts do not make a program but are only concepts that whatever leaks is to be thrown into the same bag and set aside for the development of Polish production.

Will the World Be in the Same Place?

At about 11 o'clock, Polish technological thinking in the Kasprzak videoplayer division between shelf partitions takes a teaspoon of red beet from the jar, bites off some kielbasa with what is left of a roll, sips some tea, stares at a newspaper and chews an apple or tomato. From a stereo put together from "leftovers" American country music is playing, someone is looking at a color magazine from the firm of SAAB and a film is playing on a borrowed AKAI.

"There is no money in this," says a designer, "although the profit is enough to look at. The firm does not pamper and does not buy designs and if someone from town loans us something new we can have a look at the insides."

Designers from the Kasprzak plant visited the JVC exhibit. "They did not show anything interesting," they say, "just a player with hi-fi sound. That is something of a proposition but at the moment, we are not interested. Video players with with frequency synthesis? We will use our own designs. Since this is how it was, Kasprzak developed a player on a VHS system about a year ago. It is no problem to come up with something new. If someone wanted to see

what has been devised here between the shelf partitions... In order to manufacture, you must have subassemblies and these you must make or buy. Electronics without integrated circuits of a high degree of specialization for the given product is senseless and our video players are a case in point. If we look at a map of producers, we see just the Japanese. The world does not wait because it is supported by an enormous economic organization and as early as 5 years ago, the world was mass-producing VHS system video players. Kasprzak waited to see which system would win over all of the others because it could not take risks but it made up its mind only a year and a half ago. Later they were half-prepared to prepare themselves.

People involved with video are asking if Kasprzak thinks that the government will continually give it money for some program while they have some idea of producing 50,000 units in 1990.

"We must finance ourselves," they say at Kasprzak. "We must invest 5 billion zlotys to stop being a manufacturer. It is crazy for us to produce VHS systems," they admit, "but is there any other way we can make units to sell in Polish shops for zlotys?"

In electronics, 6 years is an epoch. The layman asks whether anyone in 6 years is going to buy equipment that the rest of the world has already been using for several years? Will the Polish VHS not seem to be somewhat backward and the money invested in it again be wasted? An expert answers that the world will be in the same place with VHS's. In 6 years we will certainly not leave the market. Such is our prognosis. This system will still be used even and though it may be already on its way to extinction, we will be able to produce it.

Comparisons are obviously nonsense but Japan already produces 20 million video players annually while Kasprzak turns out just 500. This manufacturer is now producing players that died a natural death in the rest of the world in 1978. It delivers these players to a market with full awareness that this is systematically poor equipment. We gratefully received this years ago from Philips which was looking left and right for a producer in the 1970's. We were able to do this because we were ready to produce anything that someone gave us for free and we continue to do so because we think that there are always people willing to buy these players.

"We are under pressure from the Ministry of Culture..."

In the Ministry of Culture, they say: "This is a confusing story because if anyone buys this equipment, they are throwing their money away. There are almost no cassettes made any longer for this system."

So much money is now invested in the video business that it is included among the world's stock-market listings. "And we," say the people in the video business, "somehow feel that it will pass us by."

[Inset] The first patent for a system of copying images diagonally onto magnetic tape using two rotating heads was awarded in 1953 to Edward Schueller of the West German Telefunken firm. This system, which has now been much

improved, turned out to be the most useful means of producing video films for general use. Reel VCR's based on this design were produced until 1970. In the 1970's, a cassette design was developed and they almost completely replaced reel-to-reel players. At the present time, there exist three types of video magnetic cassettes and therefore three different video viewer designs. These are the Philips VCR system (two biaxial reels in a cassette, one over the other), the Sony U-matic (later called the Betamax, VHS, V-2000 and CVC systems: these are designed around two adjacent reels in a cassette) and the LVR system (one reel the tape is drawn from the cassette and winds onto the viewer's reel).

The first Polish-made reel-to-reel viewer, the MTV-10, was produced in 1973 and then followed by a cassette model in 1974.

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